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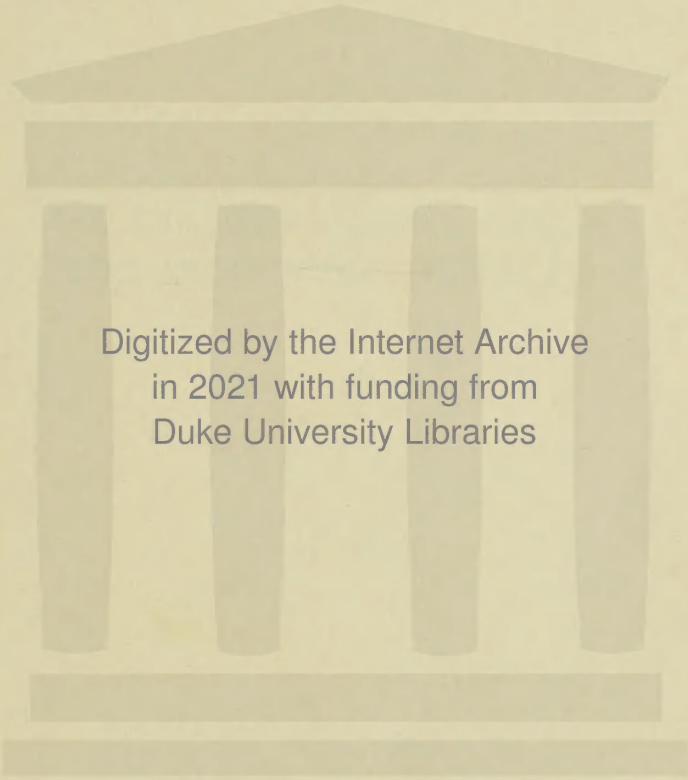
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THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS UNDER THE PROPRIETARY PATENTS

THE CARIBBEE ISLANDS

UNDER THE

PROPRIETARY PATENTS

BY

JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

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PREFACE

THE following pages treat the early history of English colonization in the Lesser Antilles primarily from the standpoint of politics and institutions, as a study in the working of proprietary government in relation both to the colonist and to the mother-country. The proprietary patents, the motives and methods of their origination, the traffic in them, and their ultimate extinction, are therefore the chief interests of the narrative; and they represent in the main an area untraversed by previous investigators. But it is impossible to do justice to these matters without taking into account the general history of the islands and the political and social life which developed under proprietary rule. On certain points under these headings new conclusions have arisen from the collation of well-known sources of evidence with others which have not previously been utilized: the records of the Court of Chancery, in particular, have added to the knowledge previously available upon the early transactions at Barbados.

The author's very sincere thanks are due to Mr. Alfred de Burgh, Assistant Librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, for kindly furnishing a list of the contents of an important manuscript volume in his care, and to Miss E. M'Elnay for making abstracts of certain documents contained in it.

J. A. W.

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I

PRELIMINARIES TO THE COLONIZATION OF THE CARIBBEES

(i) *The Motive of the English Pioneers*

THE islands of the Lesser Antilles, commonly known to the English of the seventeenth century as the Caribbees, stretch in an irregular crescent from Trinidad, lying near the Orinoco delta and slightly above the tenth degree of north latitude, to St. Christopher and its neighbours of the Leeward group clustered about the eighteenth parallel From these the crescent bends sharply to the west and continues through St. Thomas and the Virgin Islands until its horn rests upon Porto Rico, the easternmost member of the Greater Antilles. In the whole chain the greatest gap—that between Tobago and Grenada—is about seventy miles in span ; and throughout the greater part of the chain the intervals are generally less than thirty miles. In longitude, according to the modern reckoning, the average position is on the sixty-second meridian west of Greenwich ; but by the computation of the seventeenth century, which counted eastwards round the whole circumference of the globe from a zero point at Ferro in the Canary Islands, the Caribbees were described as lying approximately on the 320th meridian Contemporary measurement of longitude was liable to gross inaccuracy, and that of latitude was sometimes

scarcely better performed by the pioneers upon whose reports governments had to rely. Inaccuracies of latitude are particularly noticeable in the early reports of Barbados, and they contributed to the ill fortune which beset that island's first exploiters. Barbados must also receive special mention whilst speaking of geographical position, for it alone lies markedly out of the general north-and-south line of the island chain. In latitude it is almost on a level with St. Vincent, but in its longitude it is more than a degree to the eastward of any of its neighbours.

The north-east trade-wind—rather more east than north—is another geographical factor which the ordinary map fails to reveal. In the days of sailing-ships it was of the utmost importance, for it gave to every unit of the chain a permanent windward side, the eastern, first sighted on approach from Europe but unsuitable for anchorage; and a permanent leeward side, the western, where alone ships could ride safely in the general absence of enclosed harbours. This, by reducing the length of coastline open to the landing of enemies, rendered the islands more defensible. The trade-wind had also the effect of rendering them less accessible from the seats of Spanish power in the Indies than they were from the mother-countries of the various colonizing nations. Even with the improved rig of the eighteenth century it took longer to beat up from Jamaica to Barbados than it did to sail thither from the English Channel.[1] An ocean-current, following the same

[1] An instance may be quoted occurring as late as 1805. In that year Sir A. Cochrane left Jamaica on 25th April and, although sailing on a most urgent errand and meeting with no extraordinary obstacles by the way, did not reach Barbados until 2nd June.—Sir J. S. Corbett, *Campaign of Trafalgar*, pp. 157, 160.

direction, enhanced the effect of the trade-wind, attaining in the intervals between the islands a maximum speed of about three miles an hour.

The inhabitants of these islands were of the warlike Carib race which spread northwards from the Orinoco and other Guiana rivers of the mainland, and found no difficulty in navigating from island to island in its sea-going canoes. From Tobago and Grenada right up to Antigua and St. Christopher the Caribs were everywhere to be found save in Barbados. There the best evidence is conclusive that they never landed, the position eighty miles to windward of the main chain being inaccessible to their vessels.[1] The Caribs of the mainland were mortal enemies of the Spaniards and therefore inclined to be friendly towards other Europeans. Those of the islands came little into contact with Spaniards, and reserved their hostility for the English and French. They were commonly reputed to be habitual cannibals, although one who had enquired into their practices affirms that their cannibalism was in the main a religious ceremonial: 'they rather eat out of Mallice, chewing only one Mouthfull and spitting it out againe, and animating one another thereby to be feirce and cruell to their Enemies, as a thing pleaseing to their Gods, and it hath been a great mistake in those that have reported the Southerne Indians eat one

[1] There is only one contemporary suggestion that the Caribs visited Barbados, in Richard Ligon's *History of Barbados*, London, 1657, p. 23. Ligon heard from some of the settlers that Caribs had formerly been there, but at the same time he records that one of the original planters told him it was untrue. The latter view was taken by all other witnesses, particularly by the 'seamen of great note' examined by the Lord Keeper Coventry in 1629.—C.O. 1/5, No. 11.

another as food.'[1] They were a restless and migratory race, often moving from island to island, and when evicted by Europeans prone to return with their friends in unexpected force. This mobility, coupled with their secret and treacherous mentality, rendered them a formidable obstacle to the early settlers, and the ultimate solution of the problem was provided only by a war of extermination.[2]

The Spaniards made very early acquaintance with the Lesser Antilles, which they classified all together as *Islas de Barlovento* or Windward Islands, a more correct usage of the term than that adopted later by the English, who reserved it to the more southerly members of the chain and distinguished the northern units as the Leeward Islands. The latter are in fact not to leeward of the former. Columbus on his second outward passage in 1493 sighted Dominica and then worked northward and westward round the crescent until he came to Porto Rico. On his third voyage in 1498 he struck the southern extremity of the chain, discovering Trinidad and passing on to leeward along the shore of the mainland. Another pioneer sighted Tobago in 1500, and Columbus again in 1502 passed between St. Lucia and Martinique, which he called Martinino. Thus within ten years of the first discovery the Spaniards knew the main features of the island chain. Yet they contented themselves with bestowing names, most of them in use to this day, and passing on. The Greater Antilles, with their effeminate and easily conquered

[1] Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 53b.-49b. (book reversed), Col. John Scott's ' Description of Granada.' This is quoted, not as being conclusive, but as an exception to the general impression.

[2] Only a few hundreds of the island Caribs now remain, settled in Dominica.—Sir C. P. Lucas, *Hist. Geog. of Br. Colonies*, vol. ii., 2nd edn., Oxford, 1905, p. 168.

natives and their promise of gold-mines, offered superior attractions. Later came the revelation of the riches of Mexico and Peru, and Spanish enterprise pushed ever westward until the days of its greatest energy were done. The eastern islands were left uncolonized, for the Caribs were a deterrent, and above all there was no apparent indication of mineral treasures. Too late Spain realized her blunder in leaving uncovered the windward rim of the Caribbean Sea, for when in the seventeenth century the northern pioneers came crowding in she had neither the energy nor the resources to stay their progress. Had the Lesser Antilles been occupied by Spanish planters the story of the West Indies would have been a very different one.

From the early days of the Elizabethan era the English became familiar with the islands. Hawkins and Drake and their less distinguished followers repeatedly passed through them, for they lay athwart the most convenient track to the Spanish settlements. Drake's great fleet of 1585, for example, followed the crescent from its centre to its north-western horn in making for the objective of San Domingo. French privateers had appeared in force at an even earlier date, and before the end of the century the Dutch were also trading in the Caribbean. English colonization, elsewhere than in the islands, followed hard upon English privateering. It began at Roanoke in 1585, more permanently at Jamestown in 1607, and in Guiana as early as 1604. The question arises, why was there no serious attempt to exploit the Lesser Antilles, afterwards the greatest centre of colonial wealth in the world, until fifty years after Englishmen first knew them, and until twenty years after the colon-

izing epoch had begun ? A glance at the other English colonies will supply the answer and with it the changed object of the later pioneers.

The motives of Hakluyt, Gilbert, Ralegh, Sir George Peckham and Christopher Carleill, those who under Elizabeth preached colonization as the national task, were mixed. These projectors sought to achieve a social reform by providing new homes for the surplus population of England, growing, as it seemed to them, to an excessive and dangerous extent. But emigration on this ground alone involved a prohibitive expense, and this they hoped to meet by the working of gold- and silver-mines after the example of the Spaniards, by selling English manufactures to the natives of America whose numbers and purchasing power they greatly overestimated, and above all by discovering a new westward route through the American continent to the eastern shores of Asia. They counted also on obtaining by trade with the inhabitants of the new regions commodities, notably naval stores and raw materials, for which England was then dependent upon European rivals.

We may trace those motives as predominant in most of the English colonizing schemes up to 1620. The Elizabethans laid most stress upon the relief of surplus population and the vent of English cloth. Under James I the pioneers at Jamestown were instructed to build a fortified base and then to devote their best energies to the discovery of gold-mines and a passage through Chesapeake Bay to the Pacific, and to the shipment of naval stores. The Bermudas were first occupied in 1609-10 as an accessory to the Virginia colony, their herds of wild swine providing a useful stock of food. The Pilgrim Fathers in settling

at Plymouth acted on a religious impulse, but the capitalists of the New England Council, under whose patronage they worked, counted on profit from the timber and fishery of the coast. In Guiana Charles Leigh in 1604 and Robert Harcourt in 1609 founded settlements whose principal occupation was to trade with the Indian tribes in cotton, flax, tobacco and dyestuffs; and in Guiana also there loomed ever in the background the rich prize of Manoa, thought to lie somewhere at the headwaters of the rivers which beckoned adventurers into the unknown through their mouths upon the Atlantic coast.

Not one of these motives attracted men to the islands of the Lesser Antilles. There, it was known, there was no treasure, no hope of stumbling upon a Pacific passage or a wealthy Indian empire, and with the Caribs there could be no trade, for they themselves were recalcitrant and their natural commodities were inferior to those of the mainland. So the islands, except for an isolated venture here and there, were left untouched until conditions changed.

The change sprang out of the first dozen years of actual experience of colonization, which saw all the theories overthrown by practice. In Virginia gold-mines and the Pacific passage proved almost at once to be illusory, the Indian tribes as a market for English cloth were negligible, and the naval stores were not worth the cost of shipment. The great relief of over-population was equally a phantom, for the unemployed refused to go in anything like the requisite numbers, and a summer's mortality from the plague did more towards the purging the slums of London than did five years of Virginian emigration. In Guiana sickness and ill-luck pursued the settlements,

trade with savages proved a broken reed when attempted against the skilled competition of the Dutch, the empire of Manoa became ever more shadowy, and the hope of working gold-mines died with Ralegh's failure in 1618. Had no new employment presented itself English colonization would have been in a parlous state.

But the new employment did present itself; and it was that of planting, the regular cultivation of exotic crops by white men's labour or by native labour under white men's supervision. It is curious how little this was considered before the year 1612: the writings of the Elizabethans place little emphasis upon it, and their actual doings none at all.[1] And this was not because it was an unknown activity to Englishmen, for Spaniards were planting on the Main and Portuguese in Brazil, and English interlopers had always been quite alive to the advantage of trading in the commodities of those regions. Perhaps it was the illicit element in their business which induced in the English an adventurous frame of mind and rendered them indisposed to take up planting themselves. When they first

[1] The Elizabethans used the word 'planting,' but they usually meant the planting of colonists, not of crops. Compare: Hakluyt's *Discourse of Western Planting*, Maine Historical Society, 1877; his Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Robert Cecil in the second volume of the 1599 edition of *Principal Navigations*; and his Epistle Dedicatory to Sir Walter Ralegh, prefixed to his translation of a French *History of Florida*, 1587 (Hakluyt, *Princ. Navigations*, MacLehose edn., vol. viii.); Sir George Peckham's *Discourse* upon the planting of English colonies in North America (*ibid.* vol. viii.); Christopher Carleill's *Discourse* upon the same subject (*ibid.* vol. viii.); and Thomas Harriot's *Brief and True Report* upon the commodities of Virginia (*ibid.* vol. viii.). The last piece, written by a man who had been on the spot, is the only one which gives to systematic planting a prominence comparable to that of trading, treasure-hunting, and discovery.

became colonists their inclination was all towards what seemed quicker methods of acquiring wealth, and their leaders lacked the true colonist's instinct in that they thought always of returning home to enjoy their gains at ease after a few years of brilliant effort overseas. It is noticeable that these leaders—Newport, Somers, Smith, Leigh—were for the most part men who had served their apprenticeship in the Elizabethan school. There is a world of difference between the attitude of the first half-dozen Virginian governors and that of, say, Sir William Berkeley or Leonard Calvert of Maryland: the former were military commanders holding office as an incident in a career of general adventure, the latter were true colonists devoted to the interest of one locality.

Planting, then, was not originally an occupation congenial to the tastes of Englishmen. It was forced upon them by the trend of circumstance. Until after 1613 Virginia was in a constant state of economic crisis. It did not pay, and had no prospect of paying—the prospect was rather that of ultimate abandonment. But in that year John Rolfe sent home the first parcel of tobacco, and ere long it was apparent that the future was assured. Capitalists were attracted to pay the passage of indentured labourers, and negro slaves made their appearance in 1619. In 1627 the colony, only at the beginning of its expansion, exported 225 tons of tobacco, and the next crisis arose, not from the lack of a staple, but from its over-production. In Guiana planting sprang up simultaneously. The story is an obscure one, but it is at least clear that Robert Harcourt projected a true plantation colony, as opposed to one of trading-posts, in 1613; that Sir Thomas Roe left settlers in the Amazon a year or

two earlier, and that they and some Irishmen of unknown origin were busily planting tobacco for eight years prior to 1620 ; and that an Anglo-Dutch party in 1616 founded a thriving plantation in the same river, where they produced tobacco and valuable dyestuffs. Finally, in 1619-20 Captain Roger North founded the Amazon Company, made a settlement which was a true plantation, and was only restrained from developing it by the Spanish policy of James I. This last undertaking is important to the present enquiry because some of the planters, discouraged by lack of support from home, decided to quit the colony, but determined nevertheless to pursue the business of planting in the unoccupied islands of the Caribbean.

To this conclusion, therefore, the foregoing considerations have led us, that the earlier colonizing motives—Manoa, gold-mines, the Pacific passage, the collection by barter of trade-goods, the sale of clothes to naked savages —had all fallen into the background at the opening of the third decade of the seventeenth century, and that the regular planting of tropical produce was now recognized as the prime incentive of the future.

It was this which took men suddenly and in force to the island chain of the Caribbees, known but neglected for more than a century. The movement awaited only a leader, and in 1623-4 it found him in Thomas Warner, one of North's Amazon planters of 1620. Warner and his friends colonized St. Christopher and spread thence to the adjoining islands of the Leeward group. A few years later another association of adventurers took possession of Barbados in the English interest. Upon the French the same motive acted in like fashion, so that they appeared

only slightly in rear of the English. The Dutch, true to their national genius, did little planting in the Antilles. They sought their profit in financing the English planters and skimming the cream off the trade in the island produce and in the slaves who helped to make it. Their policy proved to be short-sighted, for after a period of splendid gain their prosperity was checked by the introduction of navigation laws, both French and English, and by the entry of those nations into the African slave trade.

The question next arises, why did Warner choose St. Christopher as the scene of his first effort in Caribbean planting? There was nothing haphazard or accidental in his proceedings. Before ever he with his fifteen [1] companions landed on St. Christopher their plans were formed, and they knew exactly what they meant to do. He had in fact made a reconnaissance of the islands on his way home to England from the Amazon venture, and had entered into friendly relations with the chief of the St. Christopher Caribs because he had concluded that that island would best suit his purpose of planting tobacco.[2] His reasons, we may infer, were as follows. He needed an island with a safe anchorage, fertile soil, healthy climate and good water supply. Not all of the Leeward group fulfilled these conditions. Barbuda, for example, although larger than St. Christopher, was rocky and barren, and Antigua was considered unhealthy and deficient of water. St. Christopher combined more advantages than did any of the others. But in after years the most valuable plantations

[1] Capt. John Smith, *True Travels*, 1907 edn., vol. ii. p. 190; a deposition signed on 29th April, 1675, by some veteran planters, says seventeen.—Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 508-9.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 503-7, John Hilton's statement.

were to be found in the much larger islands of the Windward group—Guadeloupe, Martinique, St. Vincent, Dominica and St. Lucia. There were, however, two good reasons why Warner should avoid them. He knew that his force would be small at the outset, and these islands contained many more Caribs than did St. Christopher, the savages having the additional advantage of mountain fastnesses from which it would be very difficult to dislodge them. Also the outward-bound Spanish fleets from Europe passed commonly through the Windward group, disliking the more intricate navigation of the Leewards. An English voyager describes how he went out with the annual fleet from Spain in 1625, and how they refreshed at Guadeloupe as was the usual custom,' it being a common Rode and harbour to all Nations that sail to America '— and containing moreover some highly sophisticated natives.[1] After his Amazon experiences Warner must have put privacy high on the list of the advantages of a prospective plantation. Similar factors caused him to reject Tobago and Grenada : they were too close to the Spaniards of Trinidad, and there was far too much Carib traffic passing by them on the route from the mainland to the large islands. Later projectors were to appreciate that fact to their cost.

Warner therefore chose to plant at St. Christopher, but with all its advantages we may believe that he did so only because he did not know Barbados. For Barbados was the ideal site for a pioneer plantation in the Lesser Antilles. Lying to windward of the main chain of the archipelago, it was empty of Caribs and seldom visited by white men,

[1] Thomas Gage, *A New Survey of the West-Indias*, 2nd edn., 1655, p. 17.

tenanted only by wild hogs, descendants of animals turned loose by some benevolent navigator of old time. Forests clothed its lower slopes to the water's edge, and on the bare uplands the soil was so thin as to give little indication of the fertility which was to yield princely fortunes to the sugar-planters of the next generation. Remote and unconsidered, Barbados was an uncut gem, of value so rare that when once discovered it aroused unbridled envy and cupidity, and became the scene of some of the most unscrupulous transactions recorded in the history of British colonization.

(ii) *English Landings in the Caribbees prior to* 1623

Before entering upon the story of the continuous planting of the Caribbee islands we must refer briefly to two unsuccessful attempts at settlement at a much earlier date.

On 12th April, 1605, the ship *Olive Branch* sailed from London, having on board sixty-seven English passengers intended as a reinforcement for the colony planted by Charles Leigh in the preceding year on the River Wiapoco, in Guiana. The colonists were under the charge of Captain Nicholas St. John, another officer, Captain Catlin, being the commander of the ship. Owing to a miscalculation they were carried to leeward of the Wiapoco and spent some weeks in trying vainly to beat up to their port against the strength of the wind and current. Provisions running short, they decided to turn to leeward in order to obtain supplies at some island of the Lesser Antilles.[1]

[1] The chief authority for these transactions is *An Houre Glasse of Indian Newes*, a thin printed book by John Nicholl, London, 1607. Nicholl was one of the passengers. Purchas gives an

They came accordingly to St. Lucia, where the Caribs in friendly fashion offered them fruits, chickens and turtle-flesh. It was, however, necessary to take the sick ashore to recuperate, and Captain St. John purchased the use of some huts from the chief of the tribe. There had long been bad blood between the seamen and the passengers, and whilst the latter were ashore the former sought to make off with the ship, an attempt which St. John frustrated. But it was impossible for all to continue the voyage with the supplies available, and St. John's men agreed to stay and settle on the island if provided with an adequate equipment. When the *Olive Branch* finally sailed away the seamen and the colonists parted on fighting terms, the crew firing several rounds of great shot upon the camp in retaliation for the detention of the ship's boat. Disaster now overwhelmed the unhappy colonists. The Caribs turned against them and slew the majority in a fight protracted over several days. Nicholl's description of the sufferings of his comrades, maintaining a hopeless struggle against odds, deserves to be better known. As a literary composition it is equal to the best pieces in Hakluyt's collection—to Hayes' account of Gilbert's voyage, for example. Sixty-seven Englishmen had landed on 23rd August, 1605. At the end of September nineteen survivors took to their boat and made for the Spanish Main, whence four of them, after suffering

inaccurate version of it, with abridgements and interpolations, in his *Pilgrims*, MacLehose edn., vol. xvi. p. 324. Another account of the voyage, by William Turner, one of the ship's company, appears in the same volume of the *Pilgrims*, p. 352. It is also avowedly mutilated by the editor, but as the original is not now traceable its probable inaccuracies cannot be checked.

imprisonment, got home to Europe with the treasure fleet.

Out of the accounts of this voyage a legend has arisen to the effect that the company of the *Olive Branch* landed on Barbados before proceeding to St. Lucia, and took possession in the name of James I. Purchas, in his version of Nicholl, says: 'after consultation, we were faine to touch first at the Isle of Barbados, and then at Santa Luzia in the West Indies.' This passage is a sheer interpolation, there being no mention of Barbados, express or implicit, in Nicholl's book. Then Purchas makes William Turner responsible for a more circumstantial declaration to the effect that they sighted Barbados on 14th August and found it uninhabited by men, but full of hogs, pigeons and parrots. This may or may not be what Turner actually wrote: in the absence of his original manuscript we cannot be sure that Purchas did not again interpolate for the purpose of introducing some topographical learning of his own. It should be noted that Turner does not definitely state that a landing was made, although his local details imply it.

Other contemporary writers are entirely silent upon the incident. But two centuries later it appears in expanded form in Bryan Edwards's *History of the British West Indies*.[1] Here we learn that the crew of the *Olive Branch* not only landed at a specified place, the site of the later James Town, but set up a wooden cross and an inscription: 'James, King of England and this Island,' thus making a formal annexation. Edwards's work became recognized as the standard authority on the history of the English islands, and the above statement has consequently been

[1] Edn. of 1801, vol. i. p. 317.

copied by special and general writers down to the present day.[1] Edwards and those who follow him quote only the authority of Purchas as given above, but it is obvious that there must be another witness for the details about the landing-place, the cross and the inscription ; and the tracking of these statements to their source reveals a curious error and incidentally an elucidation of a puzzling point in the later history of the island. In 1741 there was printed at Barbados a little book entitled *Memoirs of the first Settlement of Barbados*. The compiler's name does not appear, but the title-page states that the information was extracted from ancient records 'taken from' William Arnold, Samuel Bulkley and John Summers, some of the first settlers, the last of whom was alive in 1688, aged 82. The book therefore purports to be a digest of an original authority, although we may expect its accuracy to be somewhat blurred by the long time which elapsed before its statements took their present shape. The relevant passage is worth quoting not only for the information it supplies, but also as an interesting example of the value of this kind of historical evidence, too often unduly credited or unduly disparaged, according to the temperament of those who have handled it :

> '1605. An English Vessel call'd the Olive, in her Return from a Voyage to Guiana, touch'd at this Island of Barbados, and landing some men, they set up a Cross in or about St. James's Town, now call'd the Hole, and inscrib'd on a Tree adjoyning *James K: of E: and this Island*. Having thus done, they came along-shore to the Indian River, and left there also some marks of

[1] It appears in Sir Robert Schomburgk's scholarly and generally critical *History of Barbados*, London, 1848, p. 258 ; and I have to plead guilty to inserting it in my *Short History of British Expansion*.

their Possession for the Crown of England. This Ship went from Barbados to St. Christophers, where they found twenty-eight English Men and Five Women, all the Inhabitants of that Island, who would have perswaded the Captain of the Ship to leave some of his Men or to have stayed with them for their better Security, until another Ship arriv'd, which they expected in three Months, but cou'd not prevail on him to do either.'

The statement goes on to relate that ' about this time ' James I made a proprietary grant to the Earl of Carlisle, and to suggest that the *Olive* was probably owned by Sir William Courteen.

Here then is the source for the amplified story of the 1605 landing, and when its circumstances are read in their full context it becomes obvious that 1605 is an impossible date for the occurrence. In that year there were no English at St. Christopher, there was no Earl of Carlisle, and Sir William Courteen had, so far as is known, no interests in South America or the West Indies. In 1624-5, on the other hand, all the facts fit neatly together. Warner was then at St. Christopher, Courteen had a ship at sea which is known to have visited Barbados on her way back from Brazil, and Carlisle obtained his grant two years later. We are driven to assume that the ancient planters, Arnold, Bulkley and Summers, gave 1624 or 1625 as the date of the landing, and that their transcriber or compiler, having read Purchas, altered their date to 1605 [1] and inserted the names *Olive* and Guiana in order to connect the story with Charles Leigh's ill-fated colony on the Wiapoco. Yet, having eliminated these errors from the evidence, we are left with what appears to be a true story, related by no

[1] Another possibility is that the compiler simply misread the date as 1605. There are many indications in the *Memoirs* that they were transcribed inaccurately from difficult manuscripts.

other authority, and of some importance for its bearing on later events. We shall have occasion to refer to it again.[1]

The attempt to settle St. Lucia had been unpremeditated by those who sent out the *Olive Branch* from England. More deliberate was an undertaking some four years later in date, in which an English syndicate sought to colonize the island of Grenada. The principals were four London merchants named Hall, Godfrey, Quarles (or Charles) and Robinson, and a Dutchman resident in England named Lull. They equipped three ships, the *Diana* owned by Lull, and the *Penelope* and *Endeavour* belonging to Hall, and put on board a crowd of 208 miscellaneous passengers—'not persons fit for colonizing, being people of London unused to hardship.'[2] On 1st

[1] The materials for this criticism were available to Bryan Edwards, who seems to have been somewhat careless in his treatment of the early history of Barbados. He makes two other blunders concerning it: on p. 318 he states categorically that the Earl of Marlborough obtained a grant of the island from James I, although he quotes no authority for the fact, and none is known to exist; and on p. 322 he says that Courteen's patron was William, Earl of Pembroke, who also obtained a grant. Here he confuses William, Earl of Pembroke with his brother Philip, Earl of Montgomery and afterwards of Pembroke. After this Edwards delightfully concludes: 'The facts which I have thus recited have been related so often by others that an apology might be necessary for their insertion in this work, were it not that by comparing one account with another I have been enabled to correct some important errors in each.' *Absit omen!*

[2] Scott's 'Description of Granada' in Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 53b-49b, the principal authority for the voyage. Scott worked from an account written by Mr. Godfrey, which cannot now be traced. It is just possible that it exists among the manuscripts in the British Museum, as there is in the MS. Catalogue an entry under Godfrey's name without a sufficient indication of the MS. to

April, 1609, this squadron arrived at Grenada and disembarked the colonists, who suffered at once from Carib attacks. The leaders then went with the ships to Trinidad and entered into negotiations for trade with Don Sanchez de Mendoza. He kept them in play while he sent emissaries to Grenada to organize the Indian attack upon the settlement. At length, seeing that the Spaniards would not trade, the commanders took their ships back to Grenada only to find that the majority of the colonists had perished. The whole undertaking was now abandoned, the survivors reaching England on 15th December, 1609. The *Penelope*, having been attacked by a Spanish ship off Trinidad, captured her and brought her as a prize to Plymouth.

There is no indication that the object of this settlement was planting in the sense in which we have used the word in this chapter. It would seem rather that the intention was to occupy Grenada as a base for trade with Trinidad and the adjoining coasts of the mainland, in much the same way as the Dutch used Curaçoa and its neighbours. At this early date tobacco commanded a good price in the European markets, and the Spaniards of these regions produced much tobacco and other valuable wares which they illicitly sold to the English and Dutch. Sir Thomas Roe found a number of ships belonging to such interlopers at Trinidad in the early part of 1612.

which it refers; the document, if it relates to this transaction, thus awaits an accidental revelation. Scott is corroborated by a statement in Robert Harcourt's *Relation of a Voyage to Guiana*, London, 1613, reprinted in Purchas, vol. xvi. p. 397. There is also some evidence in the records of a case tried before the Admiralty Court after the return of the expedition.—H.C.A., Examinations, No. 41, evidence of six witnesses, Nov. 17-26, 1610.

From the unfortunate attempt upon Grenada in 1609 there is no other record of an English landing in the Antilles for purposes of settlement until the establishment of Warner at St. Christopher in 1624. There was, however, a casual visit to Barbados by an English ship about the year 1620, which may have played its part in making known the excellence of that island. On 25th July, 1660, a certain Captain Simon Gordan, then aged about sixty years, deposed before a Master of Chancery that 'about 40 yeares past sayleing in the West Indias he did land uppon the Island now called the Barbadas, where he with others did hunt and take Hoggs without discovery or hearing of any people uppon the said Island.' [1] The deponent went on to assert that in 1626 he was a member of the first party of colonists which occupied Barbados under the command of Captain Henry Powell. He was evidently not very certain of the date of his first visit, and it is just possible that it was identical with the landing of 1624-5 which we have already described.

[1] C.O. 1/14, No. 25.

II

THE ORIGIN OF THE PROPRIETARY GRANTS

(i) *The First Settlements at St. Christopher and Barbados*

THOMAS WARNER was a Suffolk man of good family although not, one gathers, of great estate. He was an acquaintance of John Winthrop, the founder of Massachusetts, and shared his interest in the movement towards expansion whose headquarters shifted after Elizabeth's death from the west of England to London and the east country. In 1620 he accompanied Captain Roger North to the Amazon and remained at the plantation at the head of the delta which North established before returning to England. The undertaking promised well, but was blighted by James I at Count Gondomar's instigation. The King withdrew his recognition of the Amazon Company, demanded the surrender of its charter, and imprisoned North in the Tower during the greater part of 1621. The colonists found their communication with England cut off by the royal instructions, and could only maintain a clandestine trade by the connivance of the Dutch. In addition, the Portuguese at Pará were preparing to attack them, which they did with effect in 1623. Warner, bent upon prospering as a planter, did not await the latter catastrophe. With two associates, John Rhodes and

Robert Bims, he departed in 1622, looking for a spot where they might be ' free from the disorders that did grow in the Amazons for want of Government amongst their Countrey-men, and to be quiet amongst themselves.' [1]

Warner sailed through the chain of the Lesser Antilles, examining the islands, until he came to St. Christopher, of which he had received a good account from one Captain Painton, a comrade of his in the Amazon. At St. Christopher he struck up a friendship with Togreman, chief of the Caribs, and made a prolonged stay—' a yeares tryall,' according to John Smith, who wrote his *True Travels*, the source of this information, some six years later. Perhaps the adventurers raised an experimental crop of tobacco in order to pay expenses and test the value of the soil. If Smith is correct, Warner could not have reached England until some time in 1623. There he interested some London merchants in his plans and obtained their financial support. Of this syndicate Ralph Merrifield is officially named as the chief member.[2] A Mr. Mottisye is also mentioned as one of the original investors.[3] Thus equipped, Warner sailed again for St. Christopher in the ship *Marmaduke*, and landed with a body of planters variously given as fifteen, seventeen and nineteen in number, on 28th January, 1624.[4] That date

[1] Capt. John Smith, *Works*, MacLehose edn, 1907, vol. ii. p. 188.

[2] C.O. 1/3, Nos. 44, 45 (Commission of 13th Sept., 1625).

[3] Rawlinson MSS., C. 94, f. 7b; Smith, *op. cit.* ii. p. 190.

[4] Smith gives the date as 28th Jan., 1623, *i.e.* by modern reckoning, 1624. As he is the only authority to specify day and month his evidence is entitled to respect. He seems to have worked from some exact source, such as a journal kept by one of the planters. Other authorities give the date vaguely as 1623, which would be correct as the year of departure from England.

marks therefore the commencement of permanent English colonization in the Antilles. There was already in the island a Frenchman living naked among the savages. One account makes him the sole survivor of a wreck; another declares that he had been set ashore from some privateer to recover his health.

At St. Christopher the pioneers settled near the Carib village, and built a fort with palisades, flankers and loopholes. When the chief asked its purpose they answered enigmatically, 'It was made that they might look after those fowles they had about their houses. But,' continues the narrator, 'how the King understood it I know not.' Distrust soon arose, and the first act was played of a tragedy which was to last for more than a century. The English received intelligence that their hosts were drinking heavily to nerve themselves for an onslaught. Warner determined to anticipate the attack. He fell upon the Indians suddenly, killed the majority, including King Togreman, and drove the survivors to make off in their canoes. Warner, as other evidence shows, had something of the Prussian in him; but it is impossible to pass any judgment upon his conduct on this occasion, since the details rest on the sole relation of one witness who was not present in person. The comment of that witness is that he acted like a wise man and a good soldier.[1]

Having disposed of the Caribs they settled down to plant tobacco, living meanwhile upon the produce of the

[1] For these events the authority is John Hilton's account in Egerton MSS. 2395, pp. 503-7. Hilton arrived in the Leeward Islands in 1628, and made this statement nearly fifty years afterwards, in 1675.

island—cassava bread, potatoes, plantains, pines, turtles, iguanas, and fish in plenty. A hurricane in September, 1624, blew away the first crop, but another was ready by the summer of the following year. Captain John Jeaffreson arrived with the *Hopewell* of London on 18th March, 1625, and about the same time an important body of new colonists made their appearance.[1]

These were the crew of a French privateer commanded by Pierre Belain d'Esnambuc.[2] They had sailed from Dieppe to cruise for plunder in the West Indies, and had met their match in a Spanish ship which had given them a severe mauling. They now put into St. Christopher to refit. D'Esnambuc, like Warner, recognized the possibilities of the island. He expressed willingness to turn planter, and Warner was nothing loth to receive him, for it was essential to recruit as many white men as possible in view of a counterstroke by the Caribs. The exact date of the French settlement is not recoverable, but it must have been prior to the summer of 1625, when Warner returned to England : he was evidently present when the French arrived.[3]

Shortly after this transaction—once more the date is vague—a great force of Caribs fell upon the settlers. They

[1] Smith, *op. cit.* p. 190.

[2] For d'Esnambuc's proceedings see J. B. Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles habitées par les François*, Paris, 1667, vol. i. pp. 3-6. Pierre Margry in his *Origines Transatlantiques*, Paris, 1863, checks and amends Du Tertre by comparison with unpublished material in the French archives.

[3] A loosely worded sentence in John Davies's *History of the Caribby Islands*, London, 1666, p. 160, gave a large currency to the statement that Warner and d'Esnambuc arrived at St. Christopher on the same day. Probably Davies did not mean this but if he did it is totally incorrect.

came in their canoes to revenge the massacre of the previous year. The French suffered first, a friar and several others being killed and mutilated. They rallied, however, at their fort, and sent word to the English of what was happening. The English marched promptly to the rescue, and at length the Caribs fled to their canoes. The island was thus cleared for the second time. A French account puts the number of the assailants at 3000-4000 : the planters of both nations could as yet have been nothing more than a handful.

The successful establishment of the colony, and the complication caused by the advent of the French, made it desirable that Warner should go to England to get his position regularized, for hitherto he had been acting without authority of any kind from the English government. Probably he had also another motive, for it must have been in 1624 or 1625 that Sir William Courteen's ship reconnoitred Barbados, as related in the previous chapter, and came on to St. Christopher with her news. The people of this ship are fairly certain to have talked about their discovery, and it may have occurred to Warner that the information might be turned to account. Whether or not this had any bearing upon his actions, Warner set sail for England and we next hear of him at home in September, 1625.[1]

There were at this date several recognized methods of applying government sanction to the planting of a new

[1] The chronology of these early transactions at St. Christopher is unsatisfactory. John Smith gives one or two exact dates, but omits others. John Hilton wrote long afterwards, and his memory evidently failed him on certain points ; nevertheless he enters into more detail than do the others. Du Tertre is also inexact about dates : he represents the first massacre of the Caribs as having

colony. The chief promoter might act simply on a terminable commission from the Crown giving him disciplinary authority over his men as on a sea voyage and implying more or less definitely a right to occupy territory of which the Crown retained the disposal. Charles Leigh had probably had such a commission at the Wiapoco in 1604, and Robert Harcourt had certainly had one in 1609. A stronger form of grant to an individual was the proprietary letters patent, which conveyed hereditary rights and defined the area to be occupied, the privileges of the proprietor, and his liabilities to the home government. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had acted on a grant of this sort in 1583, and so also had Ralegh two years later. Harcourt had obtained proprietary letters patent for Guiana in 1613. Similar in essentials was the grant of letters patent to a joint-stock company, the whole corporation taking the place of the individual proprietor. The best-known example of this was the Virginia Company of 1606. Others were the Newfoundland Company of 1610, the New England Council of 1620, and the Amazon Company of a few months' earlier date. Finally, the chartered company might sub-let its rights in whole or in part, and the actual settlers might stand in the relation of its tenants. In this manner the Pilgrim Fathers of 1620 had set out as tenants of the Virginia Company and had ended by locating themselves at Plymouth as tenants of the New England Council. Their procedure was peculiar in that they settled

taken place after the arrival of the French, although this is in opposition to Hilton. The second Carib battle may have happened after Warner's departure. Rawlinson MSS., C. 94, which gives a few exclusive details, consists of depositions made over twenty years after the event. The state papers in the Record Office tell us practically nothing.

first and sought recognition afterwards from the legal owners of the soil.

For what Warner had done, the occupation without authority of non-English territory, there was as yet no precedent, and he had therefore to play his cards carefully in seeking recognition. In Tudor times he and his mercantile associates would probably have appealed direct to the sovereign and obtained a satisfactory grant without difficulty. But under the Stuarts the throne was becoming less and less accessible to middle-class suitors unless backed by a considerable amount of wealth. Titled courtiers were interposing themselves in the hope of securing a handsome profit from the sale of their patronage, and from the opening of the reign of Charles I we find no instance of a proprietary grant being accorded to a man of less than courtier's rank. Even the plutocrat merchant, Sir William Courteen, to whom the Crown was heavily in debt, could not obtain a grant in his own name.

Warner, therefore, had little hope of becoming proprietor of St. Christopher. What he did obtain was a commission from the new king, Charles I, dated at Southampton, 13th September, 1625.[1] The document recites that Ralph Merrifield has given information that Thomas Warner has discovered 'fower severall Islands in the maine Ocean towards the continent of America, the one called the Isle of St. Christophers alias Merwar's hope,[2] one other the Isle of Mevis, one other the Isle of Barbados ['Barbadoes' in the second copy], and the other the Isle

[1] Two copies, C.O. 1/3, Nos. 44, 45.

[2] 'Merwar' would seem to be a compound of the first syllables respectively of Merrifield's and Warner's names. It never came into general use, and was soon discarded.

of Moncerate ' ; that Merrifield has set forth and supplied Warner ; and that the latter has begun a plantation ' with the consent and good liking of the Natives,' and has commenced a hopeful trade. In order that they may be encouraged to proceed in a work tending to the propagation of the Christian religion and the honour of the King and his people, His Majesty takes Warner, the planters, and the islands into his royal protection, grants Merrifield full licence to trade on payment of the usual duties, and appoints Warner to act as the royal Lieutenant in the islands and to govern them as is fitting. In case of Warner's death John Jeaffreson is to succeed him, and if Jeaffreson also dies the inhabitants are to elect a Lieutenant.

Warner thus became Governor of the Leeward Islands by a commission which might be revoked at the King's pleasure ; and nothing was decided about his or the planters' titles to the land which they were occupying. This, in itself, was no great reward for his enterprise, but it is probable that the arrangement was regarded as merely temporary, and negotiations seem already to have been on foot with John Ley, Earl of Marlborough, who, as Lord Treasurer, was a person of sufficient influence to procure a proprietary grant. Marlborough did not eventually receive such a grant, but there is no doubt he obtained a promise of it, afterwards selling his option to the Earl of Carlisle. This appears from a petition of his son and successor, Henry, Earl of Marlborough, presented to the King in 1636 :

> ' To the Kinges most Excellent Majestie, the humble peticion of Henry Earle of Marleburgh, shewing that the late Earle of Marleburgh the peticioner's father then

your Majesties high Threasurer of England having taken extraordinary paines and Care for the planting and protecting of Certen Islands called the Charibee Islands nere the Coaste of America did intend to be a suitor to your Majestie for a Graunt thereof. But in respect of his friendship with the late Earle of Carlile he was desirous to joyne the said Earle with him in his suite for the said Islands, which being obteyned was to bee to the joynt use of them both. But after your peticioner's said Father did release unto the said Earle his interest therein. And in consideracion thereof had a graunt of a rent charge of 300 li. per annum from the said Earle during his owne life, and the life of your peticioner, which was after renued for the life of your peticioner and his sonne, and is to be issuing out of three of the said Caribee Islands called St. Christophers, Mevis and Monseratt with power to enter into the said Islands and seize goods to the value of what shalbe from tyme to tyme in arreare and unpaid of the said Annuytie. . . .'[1] [Continues with complaint that the annuity is in arrear.]

The above has been quoted at length because it is conclusive as regards Marlborough's position in the affair, and disposes of the oft-repeated tale that Marlborough actually obtained a proprietary grant—had he done so his son would certainly have used the fact to strengthen his own claim to the annuity. That claim was more than once repeated and was never denied by the Carlisle family, although the money was generally unpaid.

The mention of only three islands in the petition is interesting, for Warner's commission was for four, the addition being Barbados. This suggests that the Marlborough-Carlisle agreement was made before Warner's return to England, possibly on the information of Ralph Merrifield.[2] Warner, as we have seen, had very probably

[1] C.O. 1/9, No. 32. [2] The document itself has disappeared.

received news before coming home that Barbados was a valuable island, and so took occasion to slip its name into his Commission. This, however, may be disputed, for there was in the Leeward group another island called Barbuda, whose name was often transposed with that of Barbados. Warner may quite honestly have intended to claim Barbuda, which was within his own sphere of discovery, or he may somewhat dishonestly have been setting up a claim to Barbados, which had been discovered by the servants of Sir William Courteen. The former seems the natural explanation but for two circumstances : the real Barbuda was considered by the early colonists as quite worthless for planting, being held of less account even than Antigua, which also Warner did not think fit to claim ; and secondly, the Earl of Carlisle, who took over the patronage of Warner's discoveries, made unscrupulous and successful efforts to get possession of Barbados. Four years afterwards, in 1629, Warner asserted that he had always intended Barbados and not Barbuda to be the island asked for and granted in his commission ; and he brought witnesses to prove that he had spoken in that sense at the time.[1] This, if we accept it, is conclusive. But in 1629 the situation had developed, and it was then very strongly in the interest of Warner and his friends to show that Barbados had been in his mind from the outset. We shall return to this matter at a later stage, merely remarking here that the germ of the great Barbados robbery is to be found, in all probability, in the commission granted to Thomas Warner in 1625.

Whilst Warner was in England the mercantile interest

[1] C.O. 1/5, No. 11, Coventry's Report, printed below, Chap. III, p. 56.

in his colony, at first represented by the names of Merrifield and Mottisye alone, received a powerful recruit from the ranks of the London traders. This was Maurice Thompson, who founded a great business in West Indian produce. In April-May, 1626, Thompson, in association with Thomas Combe of Southampton, equipped three ships which conveyed Warner himself and a body of sixty slaves to St. Christopher.[1] If these slaves were negroes it would seem that the expedition must have obtained them on the African coast on the way out. A petition by Thomas Combe in June, 1627, asserts that he has thrice sent supplies to St. Christopher, and a similar claim is made for Captain John Preen of London in the following year.[2] In 1627 we find that Combe and Thompson have jointly brought home 9500 lb. of tobacco, Merrifield 10,000 lb., and Roger Barwick (acting for Warner) 10,500 lb.[3]

Warner, as we have said, sailed in 1626 in the ships belonging to Thompson and Combe. On his outward passage, if we are to believe Colonel John Scott, he made an unsuccessful attack upon the Spaniards at Trinidad, and then turned northwards to St. Christopher.[4] He reached that island on 4th August, bringing with him a hundred new colonists, whom he set to work planting tobacco. A month later a hurricane destroyed their houses, crops, and two of the ships, reducing all to great

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 7b. A reference in *Colonial Calendar*, p. 80, shows that on 3rd May Warner was waiting to sail from the Downs. He seems to have made a false start in April and to have returned after a fight with a Dunkirker. (Sir C. H. Firth, *Stuart Tracts*, p. 307).

[2] *Colonial Calendar*, 1574-1660, pp. 85, 94.

[3] *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

[4] Scott's ' Description of Trinidada,' Sloane MSS. 3662, f. 45b.

misery.[1] This, however, did not prevent the sending home of the substantial cargoes recorded in the following year. We must here leave St. Christopher for the time in order to consider the first steps in the planting of Barbados.

Concerning this undertaking we have a great deal of miscellaneous testimony, some of it from the mouths of the actual pioneers themselves. In spite of this there has always hitherto been some confusion about the dates owing to the fact that the witnesses, giving their evidence at trials of conflicting claims in 1647, 1657, and 1660, spoke so long after the event that their memories had become dimmed. The account given in the present and following chapter is based partly upon this evidence and partly upon some hitherto unknown documents in the Chancery records.[2] Their date, 1629, is contemporary with the events described, and their general effect is to confirm the main outlines of the evidence previously

[1] Smith, *op. cit.* p. 191.

[2] Chancery Proc., Charles I, Bundles C. 60, No. 38, and C. 58, No. 4. These consist of the allegations made by the plaintiffs and defendants in an action by the Earl of Carlisle and others against Sir William Courteen and others, Sept.-Oct., 1629. For a transcript of the passages yielding historical information see Appendix I. The affidavits embodying the evidence of witnesses in this case have not been traced.

The testimony of pioneers given at a later date is to be found in : Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. G. 4, 15, some of which is printed in N. Darnell Davis, *Cavaliers and Roundheads of Barbados*, Georgetown, 1887 ; Shaftesbury MSS. (Record Office), Bundle 49, 2b ; Rawlinson MSS., C. 94 ; C.O. 1/14, Nos. 25, 31, 32, 35, and 37-40 ; and *Memoirs of the first Settlement of Barbados*, printed, 1741.

The other authorities which appear to embody original information are : Sloane MSS. 3662, by Col. John Scott, c. 1668 ; Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 628-635, ' An Account of the English Sugar

known, to yield additional details, and to substitute a definite for a vague chronology. Of witnesses at second-hand the earliest is Captain John Smith. He also wrote in 1628-9, at a time when controversy on Barbadian affairs was fierce, and perhaps for this reason he may have been intentionally loose and indefinite in his handling of the subject, for a clear statement of the facts would have given offence to powerful persons. Other accounts embodying contemporary information are all of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

About the year 1620, as we have seen, Captain Simon Gordan claimed to have landed on Barbados from an English ship for the purpose of hunting hogs, and to have found the island untenanted. In 1624 a ship belonging to Sir William Courteen sailed from Pernambuco for England. At the close of that year, or early in 1625, she touched at Barbados, and then, almost certainly, occurred the incident of the formal annexation and the setting up of the inscription 'James, King of England and this Island.'[1] The commander of this ship was undoubtedly John Powell, the elder, who is entitled to the honour of being recognized as the pioneer of Barbados.[2] He sur-

Plantations,' written in the reign of Charles II; *ibid.*, f. 602, a printed folio setting forth the claims of the Courteen family, written after 1667; Sloane MSS. 2441, a history of Barbados written in 1684 and drawing some of its facts from the two preceding; Richard Ligon's *History of Barbados*, London, 1657; and John Smith's *True Travels*, 1629. One or two additional details are to be gleaned from *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, vol. i. (1908), and Thos. Browne's *Vox Veritatis*, 1683.

[1] See above, Chap. I, p. 16.

[2] *Cf.* Chanc. Proc., Ch. I, C. 60/38 (2): 'John Powell... had discovered the said island of Barbadoes and was the ffirst person (as theis defendts were informed) that did discover the same Island

veyed the southern and western coasts, found no signs of occupation, and returned to report to his employer, having touched at St. Christopher by the way.[1]

Sir William Courteen, born in 1572, was the son of a refugee from Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands. With his brother Sir Peter Courteen he amassed a huge fortune in commerce, their headquarters being in London, with an allied business at Middelburg in the United Provinces. William was knighted by James I in 1622, and Peter in 1623. In 1631, when the latter died, the firm was reputed to be worth £150,000. Persistent ill-luck then overwhelmed Sir William: the Dutch branch repudiated the connection and defrauded him of a large sum; his West and East Indian ventures collapsed; and he died insolvent in 1636, owing £146,000, the greater part of which was covered by no visible assets. Merchants were truly described as adventurers in those days when the development of capitalistic enterprise had far outrun that of the resources of the law for its protection. For nearly fifty years after his death Sir William's heirs and creditors tried vainly to recover some part of the rich inheritance in Barbados which they alleged to be his, and their efforts have

and did sett upp his ma^ties standard there to the honor of this Nation and to the increasing of his Maiesties dominions.'

[1] Scott, Sloane MSS. 3663, ff. 62-54 (pages reversed), gives the date 1624 and the other details, with the captain's name as Thomas Powell, which seems to be an error for John Powell. Ligon's *Hist. of Barbados* gives a similar account but leaves the date blank: in the British Museum copy someone has inserted '1624' in MS. John Dell giving evidence before the Committee for Plantations in 1660, said 'about 1625 he went to Barbathoes and found nothing there but hogs and no plantation'—C.O. 1/14, No. 37. The *Memoirs of the first Settlement of Barbados*, p. 1, gives the fullest account but under the impossible date 1605.

contributed substantially to our knowledge about the planting of the island.[1]

On receiving Powell's information about Barbados, Sir William Courteen prepared an expedition under the command of his informant, who was to go out with a party of colonists, take possession, and commence the planting of tobacco. This first expedition never reached the island. John Powell was granted letters of marque on 21st March, 1626, and was back at Cowes with a Spanish or Portuguese prize on 13th July, facts which suggest a reason for his not proceeding to his destination.[2]

At this time also, according to the view suggested in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Courteen applied for a proprietary patent intended to cover his project in Barbados. The authority for this is an undated petition conjecturally assigned by the editor of the *Colonial Calendar* to 1625. A perusal of its terms, however, shows that Barbados was not in its author's mind. It prays for a grant of 'all the lands in the South partes of the world called Terra Australis incognita extending Eastwardes and westwardes from the Straightes of Le Maire, together with all the adiacente Islands as are yet undiscovered, or being discovered are not yet traded unto by any of your Ma^ties^ subiects.'[3]

[1] For Courteen's affairs in general see the article upon him in *Dict. of Nat. Biography*; George Carew's *Vindication of the severall Actions*, etc., Middelburg, 1675; and Thomas Browne's *Vox Veritatis*, 1683; in addition to the Barbados evidence already noted.

[2] Add. MSS. 37816, f. 135b.

[3] S. P. Dom., Car. I., vol. xiv. No. 33. Compare the charter of the Dutch West India Company (1621), which allots the lands above described to that corporation.

This evidently points to Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego and the Falkland Islands, concerning which Courteen may have received some encouraging but untrustworthy information from his agents in eastern Brazil. No grant is known to have followed upon this petition, which was very probably framed before its author had received news of Barbados. The latter offered much fairer prospects for immediate money-making than did Terra Australis, and the southern project was dropped, never to be resumed. It is a pity that we have no more information upon it, for Courteen was a man of large views, and the mention of Le Maire's name conjures up by analogy the vision of some revolutionary scheme of commercial strategy which might have brought the Cape Horn route into regular use two centuries before its time.

For the present Barbados occupied all the projector's energies. He formed a syndicate consisting of himself, his brother Sir Peter, his brother-in-law John Mounsey, John Powell the elder, and Henry Powell.[1] Late in 1626 they equipped a second expedition which achieved their purpose. The ship *William and John*, commanded by Captain Henry Powell, reached Barbados on 20th February, 1627, and disembarked eighty men, their status being not that of land-owning planters but of paid employees.[2] After seeing these people settled Powell sailed for the River Essequibo in Guiana, where he obtained

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 33, giving evidence of date 1660. The Chancery papers *ut sup.* omit Sir Peter's name from the syndicate. They describe John Mounsey as 'esquire,' and the Powells as 'gentlemen.'

[2] Testimony of Henry Powell, varying versions which occur in the several manuscripts noted in footnote to p. 39. The Record Office copy (C.O. 1/14, No. 39) is an official document of 25th Feb.,

cassava roots, corn, tobacco and other useful plants, and the services of thirty-two Arawak Indians to show the settlers how to deal with them. These unfortunate Indians went as free labourers on the understanding that after two years they should be returned to their own country. But the persons who afterwards captured Barbados from Courteen detained them as slaves, and nearly thirty years later we find Powell petitioning the then Governor of the island for the release of the survivors.[1] Colonel Scott says that Powell obtained his supplies from the Essequibo by the good offices of one Gromweagle (Groenwegen), the head of the Dutch colony in that river.[2] This is quite probable, in view of the Dutch connections of the Courteens, but Powell does not mention the fact: he represents himself as trading independently in the river. The *William and John* was back at Barbados in May, and in July there arrived from England the *Peter* and the *Thomasine* under John Powell, senior, the brother of Henry.[3] These ships brought a hundred men and women

1657, signed on each page by Powell. This gives the number of settlers as 40-50, but John Powell's statement in the Chancery case puts it at 80.

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 33: concerning this transaction Scott remarks: 'It hath been observed that a curse attended most of those persons concerned in that horrid breach of faith.' Shaftesbury MSS. 49, 2b, repeats the details and adds that the Governor released the Indians. See also *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 159, which gives the date of the liberation as Feb., 1655.

[2] Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 62-54.

[3] Chanc. Proc., C. 58/4 (John Powell's statement), gives the month as July 'in the second yeare of his Maᵢˢ Raigne,' *i.e.* 1626. This, if correct, would be at variance with all the evidence given at later dates, and would antedate the colonization of Barbados by a year. There is nothing impossible in 1626 as the date, but

to reinforce the pioneers. The planters now cleared the ground, built houses and a fort, and began five several plantations. When the work was well in progress the brothers Powell sailed for England, leaving John Powell, junior, nephew of Henry, in charge.[1] On their homeward voyage they took two ships laden with sugar from Brazil and worth £9600, all of which the syndicate devoted to the improvement of Barbados.[2]

During 1627 and 1628 the colony grew rapidly. More shipping arrived in July of the former year, and by the end of the latter it was claimed that Courteen had planted 1850 people. The number may be exaggerated—John Smith, writing in 1629, says that 1500-1600 have gone or are going—but after making all deductions it is evident that Barbados was a more lusty infant than any English colony as yet planted. The total expenditure of the syndicate was estimated in 1629 at £10,000,[3] and the time was not far distant when it might look for a handsome return upon its outlay.

(ii) *The Carlisle and Pembroke Patents*

The negotiations which issued in the grant of a proprietary patent for the Caribbees to the Earl of Carlisle are buried in obscurity, and it is only by inference that we

it is on the whole safer to regard it as a mistake on the part of the persons drafting the documents, and to keep to the traditional 1627. Reckoning by regnal years must have been liable to lead to such mistakes. On 5th April, 1627, we find also that John Powell was on the point of sailing for the West Indies with letters of marque.—*A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. p. 114.

[1] A clear abstract of the evidence on these matters is in Shaftesbury MSS. *ut sup.*

[2] *Vox Veritatis*, p. 54.

[3] Chanc. Proc., C. 58/4.

can build up a provisional explanation of the matter. The principals were Warner and Merrifield, already established at St. Christopher, the Earl of Marlborough, and Carlisle himself; and behind Carlisle stood a group of London capitalists who had convinced themselves that the Lesser Antilles offered a lucrative investment. In 1626-7 Warner and Merrifield were in possession of a rather unsatisfactory royal commission for the plantation of four islands. It is highly probable that they had already reconciled themselves to the over-lordship of a noble proprietor, and had approached Marlborough and Carlisle on that account.[1] The reason for this belief lies in the fact that Merrifield made no protest when Carlisle obtained the grant, and that he and Warner both loyally accepted the arrangement and acted promptly in order to give it effect. By the summer of 1627 Marlborough had withdrawn his pretensions on promise of an annuity of £300 secured on the profits of the islands, thus leaving the field open for his brother peer.

James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle, was one of the Scottish courtiers who followed James I into England. Although possessing little inherited wealth and evincing no great ability for the public service, he obtained large endowments from the Stuart kings, and spent more lavishly than he received. Dr. Gardiner, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, gives a flattering account of his joviality, good nature and common sense. These were apparent to his

[1] Scott (Sloane MSS. 3662) says that Carlisle had obtained a promise of a grant from King James as early as 1624, acting on Warner's information. That must have been given by Warner on his first return to England in 1623. The story, like so many of Scott's, is quite probable, but lacks confirmation, being given by no other authority.

equals in the great world of society and politics ; but, as we shall show, there was another side to his character which came out in his dealing with those who were in his power. Clarendon is responsible for the statement that he spent over £400,000 in the course of his life, and the sum appears not to be exaggerated ; it represented half a normal year's national revenue at the time. While he was thus jovially wasting the resources of the commonwealth the only service he rendered in return was that of representing his sovereign in certain diplomatic missions to the courts of Europe. Such a man was necessarily in chronic financial straits, and one of his expedients was to place his court influence at the disposal of his creditors among the merchants of London. It was this which brought him into the business of West Indian colonization.

On 2nd July, 1627, he received Letters Patent [1] making him absolute lord proprietor of the following islands, commonly called ' Caribees Islands,' situated between 10° and 20° north latitude :

> ' Insulas Sci. Cristofers, Granado, Sci. Vincencii, Sci. Lucis, Barbidas, Mittalanea, Dominico, Marigallanta, Desseada, Todosantes, Guardalupe, Antigoa, Monserat, Redendo, Barbado, Mevis, Estatia, Sci. Bartholomei, Sci. Martini, Angilla, Sembrera & Enegada . . . & om̄es alias Insulas sive Insululas infra viginti gradus linie equinoctialis a borea.'

The grant goes on to confer upon Carlisle the property in the islands, to be held of the King by knight service with as ample royalties and jurisdiction as have ever been possessed by any Bishop of Durham within his bishopric

[1] Patent Roll, 3 Charles I, part 31, No. 15 (Latin) : an English translation is in C.O. 29/1, pp. 1-12, and an abstract in C.O. 1/4, No. 30.

or county palatine. The region granted is to be called Carlisle or Islands of Carlisle Province. There is the usual reservation of one-fifth of gold and silver ore to the Crown, and also of £100 payable yearly. The Earl may make laws with the assent of the majority of the freeholders; may erect courts and appoint judges; and may enforce obedience by corporal punishment or sentence of death; exercising generally the authority of Captain-General for the Crown. He may also confer honours, but not such as are used in England. There are some ambiguous clauses, which were subsequently to need amendment, concerning trading privileges. They appear to grant freedom from all duties to the Earl and inhabitants on goods sent to England, for the space of ten years, and also the like freedom on goods re-exported from England to foreign countries;[1] and the Earl may take to his own use any duties levied on goods unladen in the islands. This patent is generally known as 'the first grant' to the Earl of Carlisle.

In view of subsequent events the most important point in the grant was the specification of the islands conveyed. St. Christopher appears first on the list, as being already occupied, and the remaining units are named roughly in ascending order from south to north. From this it would appear that 'Barbidas' means Barbados, and 'Barbada' Barbuda. Even if this is not so it is certain that both Barbados and Barbuda are included. The question then arises, did the promoters of the grant know that Barbados was already occupied by Sir William Courteen? The

[1] The ambiguity consisted in the wording which made it possible to refer the freedom from duties *either* to goods brought into England together with those re-exported, *or* to the latter only of these categories.

date of the instrument is 2nd July, when the Powells had not returned with news of the successful planting of the island. We may therefore acquit Carlisle of having positive knowledge that Courteen's men had performed their task. On the other hand it is scarcely credible that he and his mercantile allies were in ignorance of the fact that Courteen had despatched his expedition before the close of 1626. Again, it was common knowledge before 2nd July that Carlisle was moving for a grant.[1] Had it been disclosed that the grant was to include Barbados, Courteen would have protested with a proof of his prior interest. We can only conclude either that Carlisle gave Courteen some satisfactory assurance [2] or that the inclusion of Barbados was concealed until the grant of it was an accomplished fact. Complete candour on the part of the Earl would certainly have spoiled his scheme. What the King was led to believe we do not know. Clarendon stated forty years afterwards that he granted Barbados to Carlisle on the supposition that it had been planted at the latter's charge.[3] But the circumstances of the time indicate that Charles I cared very little for the equity of his action in the matter, and that he was throughout criminally careless and indifferent.

Concerning any proceedings which Courteen may have taken during the six months following the grant our knowledge is a total blank. For all that appears to the contrary he may have been pushing on his planting of Bar-

[1] On 24th May, 1627, he obtained a warrant for ordnance for a fort at St. Christopher.—*Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 85.

[2] The soothing assurance may have been a recognition that Barbados was not a Caribbee Island, a plea which was actually raised and allowed at the trial of 1629.

[3] *Life of Clarendon*, Oxford, 1759, p. 490.

bados in complete confidence that all was well. But the outcome shows that he realized the need of a powerful ally, and we may therefore infer that he was opening negotiations to that end.

Their result appears in the fact that Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and afterwards of Pembroke, obtained letters patent dated 25th February, 1628,[1] to the following effect: Recognizing that the Earl has expended money on transporting men to the islands named below, the King grants him their proprietorship with privileges as enjoyed by the Bishops of Durham, to be held in free and common socage as of the Castle of Windsor, and with general conditions similar to those of the Carlisle grant;[2] the islands to be called Provincia Montgomeria. Their specification runs thus:

> 'Insulas de Trinidado, Tabago, Barbudos & ffonseca alʒs Sci. Bernardi. . . . & p̄dict. Insula de Barbudos iacet & existit v̄sus boream ab eadem insula de Trinidado int. duodecim & tresdecim ḡdus., ac p̄dict. Insula de ffonseca alʒs Sci. Bernardi iacet & existit ex oriental. parte aut v̄sus orien. circa quadringent. milias ab Insulis p̄dict. & int. octo et tresdecim ḡdus latitudin. boreal. tropic. cancri & p̄dict. tres Insul. videlt. Trinidado Tabago & Barbudos sunt part & parcell Insul. vocat. Insul. trē firme & p̄dict. alt̄a Insula vocat. ffonseca alʒs. Sant. Bernard. sit Insul. ocean.'

Farther on the whole group are stated to lie 'int. oct. & tresdecim ḡdus latitudinis boreal.' *i.e.* between 8° and 13° N., and not between 8° and 30° as the English abstract incorrectly gives it.

[1] Patent Roll, 3 Charles I, part 30, No. 1 (Latin); an inaccurate abstract in English is in C.O. 1/4, No. 39.

[2] The wording of most of the clauses is identical in the two patents.

Of the four islands mentioned in this grant two, Trinidad and Tobago, do not at present concern us, although they became of some importance in later years: their conveyance in 1628 was not followed by any immediate attempt at settlement. 'Barbudos' undoubtedly means Barbados, as is shown by the latitude quoted, 'between twelve and thirteen degrees'—Barbados actually lies just north of the thirteenth parallel, but the error was not a large one for the time. 'Fonseca alias St. Bernard's' was an imaginary island oftentimes reported as lying in the ocean well to the eastward of the Caribbee chain, but having no existence in fact. In the following year we find Captain Philip Bell of Bermuda writing about it to Sir Nathaniel Rich: [1]

> 'There is another island called Fonceta, which lies some 100 leagues to the eastward of the Caribbee Islands, and out of all the 'Spaniards' roads and ways, which by the report of some Indians which once straggled from thence, and could never find it again, as also of some seamen which once touched there, and which Daniel Elfrith did afterwards speak withal, is one of the bravest and most fertile islands in the world.'

This description suggests that what is here called Fonceta was really Barbados assigned to an incorrect position, a surmise which is strengthened by a glance at the various stages in the evolution of the name Barbados. In successive maps that island appears as follows: 1536, Bernados; 1542, Barbudoss, and Isla de Beruados; 1554, Baruodo; 1566, S. Barduda; 1570, S. Barbudos; 1589, Baruodos; 1600, Barbados.[2] From Bernados and Baruodos it is not a far cry to St. Bernard's, the patent's alternative name for

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. 8th Report*, Pt. II. p. 49 (1629, 28th April).

[2] The references are given in Schomburgk's *Barbados*, pp. 255-7.

Fonseca. That word itself has a history of similar mutations, which shows that it was by no means always recognized as an alias of St. Bernard's. The mythical stories regarding its existence seem rather to cluster round the reality of Tobago.[1]

The effective point in the Earl of Pembroke's[2] patent was therefore the grant of Barbados, and there is no doubt that he acted in the matter on behalf of Sir William Courteen. The latter's representatives repeatedly stated the fact, nor did their opponents ever deny it ; it was common ground in all the subsequent disputes. As, however, the point is of cardinal importance, it may be as well to clinch it by quoting one of the several testimonies concerning it. At the enquiry of 1660 John Darrell deposed that on 1st October, 1647, he heard the Earl assure Lady Katherine Courteen that he himself had never had a claim to Barbados although he had had a patent for it, but that all that he had done was merely on behalf of his good friend Sir William Courteen, 'and at his request and with his comfort and charge.'[3] As regards Trinidad and Tobago it is not so certain that Courteen's was the sole interest, for Scott asserts that Pembroke was recommended to apply for the former by one Robert Goddard, the master of an English ship which touched there in 1626.[4]

The patent of 25th February, 1628, was thus in effect a recognition of Courteen's claim to Barbados, and he may

[1] See Prof. A. P. Newton's *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 132-4.

[2] Philip Herbert did not succeed to the Earldom of Pembroke until April, 1630, but it will be convenient to refer to him under that title throughout.

[3] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, folio not numbered.

[4] Sloane MSS. 3662, f. 45b.

well have congratulated himself on regaining the march stolen upon him by the Carlisle group in the previous year. He had yet to learn that in complaisance to his suitors his royal master could be as versatile as a weathercock, but not two months were to elapse before he was to be undeceived. Carlisle was about to go to the continent on an embassy, and, as we may imagine, his backers and creditors were clamorous that the choicest part of their scheme must not be undone. He immediately asserted his influence over the King, with the result that on 7th April, 1628, he received a second patent making it clear that Barbados was still to be his.

Carlisle's second grant [1] is in English, and takes the form of an amendment and explanation, but not of an entire supersession, of the first. It opens with a recitation of that instrument, and then proceeds to the amending clauses. Pembroke's grant is not directly referred to, but its implied cancellation, so far as concerns Barbados, is evident. The revised specification of the islands granted to Carlisle makes this intention clear :

> ' St. Xrōfers als St. Christoval, Granado als Granada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia als St. Lucie, Barbadas alias Barbades alias Barbudos alias Barbadus, Mittalania alias Martinico, Marigallanta alias Marigalante alias Marignante, Desseada, Todosantes, Guardalupe, Antigoa alias El Antigoa, Monserat, Redendo, Barbido alias Barbado alias Barbuda, Mevis, Estatia, St. Bartholomewes alias St. Bartholomeo, St. Martins alias Martin, Angilla alias Anguilla, Sembrea alias Elsambrera, and Enegada als Anegada . . . with all the Islands whatsoever scituate within or neere the Caribee Islands.'

The emphasis upon Barbados, with its four aliases, is very marked. It is curious that not one of the four hits

[1] Patent Roll, 4 Charles I, part 6, No. 4.

upon what afterwards became the standard spelling. The geographical limits are now laid down as 10°–20° N. latitude and 315°–327° longitude east of Ferro, 315° being considered as the meridian of the eastern end of Porto Rico. The exemptions from duties are re-defined. The original intention, it is stated, was that exemption was to be only on goods re-exported from England, and not on those sent by the planters from the islands to England ; whilst Carlisle's privilege was that of taking all duties payable in the islands, together with personal immunity on his own goods sent to England. The second grant now cancels the Earl's immunity and that of the inhabitants, and substitutes a right to the Earl to take to his own use for ten years all duties whatsoever upon the islands trade both import and export, whether payable in England or in the islands. The effect of this was greatly to strengthen the Earl's profits at the expense of the planters. When we remember that his name was to a great extent a mask for those of two or more mercantile syndicates,[1] we realize the sweeping effect of the decision. It was that the interests of the capitalists at home were completely to override those of the working colonists. The history of the defunct Virginia Company had shown the opposite tendency. We now see the swing of the pendulum. The plaint of the Caribbean planters became that of the later Virginians against the navigation code of the Restoration : ' the planters are the merchants' slaves.'

[1] The composition of these syndicates, and Carlisle's relations with them, will be considered in the two following chapters.

III

THE EXPROPRIATION OF SIR WILLIAM COURTEEN

It was not to be expected that the Courteen syndicate would quietly accept the loss of their flourishing interest in Barbados. In one respect their position was stronger than that of their opponents—they were in possession of the island. The King had shown a very practical indifference to its fate, and force might well decide the issue. The Carlisle party took the same view, and so we find an invasion and conquest of Barbados, followed by a counter-invasion and a reconquest, all taking place before the disputants had appealed to the law to decide upon their rights. And even after Carlisle had gained the decision a third invasion was still necessary to carry it into effect. Nothing better illustrates the contempt of government induced by the unkingly attitude of Charles I, who, through sheer lack of comprehension of his duties, had abdicated his position as the fount of justice for his subjects.

The merchants with whom Carlisle was in association for the seizure of Barbados formed a distinct syndicate with a membership different from that of the group interested in the Leeward Islands. Several witnesses agree that a certain Marmaduke Rawden,[1] afterwards known as

[1] The statements made in the Courteen interest in the latter part of the seventeenth century render the name as Roydon, but the form given above is that occurring in the Chancery papers of 1629.

Sir Marmaduke Roydon, was the prime mover in the Barbados affair and that Carlisle owed money to him and his associates. In lieu of payment the Earl promised to claim the island, to allot to them an area of 10,000 acres of land, and to appoint a governor of their choosing. He was apparently to have the remainder of the island for his own benefit.[1] At this time, April, 1628, Carlisle was on the point of departing for Lorraine and Italy on an embassy of some months' duration. He therefore handed over to Rawden and his two partners William Perkins and Alexander Banister the entire management of the adventure, after signing his name to certain documents giving them the requisite authority. Rawden, Perkins and Banister thus formed the original Barbados syndicate, according to the Chancery documents of 1629. The *Memoirs* of 1741, whose value as an original source we have already discussed, add six other names to the list, those of Robert Wheatly, Henry Wheatly, Edmond Forster, Robert Swinnerton, John Charles and John Farrington. These persons may have been admitted subsequently, or may have taken fractions of the shares of the three principals. The syndicate chose Captain Charles Wolverston to carry out their plans. He received a commission as Governor of Barbados, dated 29th March, 1628,[2] and issued by virtue of the inclusion of the island in Carlisle's first grant

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 2b; Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 602; *Memoirs . . . of Barbados*, p. 9. Ligon's *History* (1657) has a large map of Barbados showing an area in the south centre of the island, north-east of Carlisle Bay, inscribed 'The tenn Thousande Acres of Lande which Belongeth to the Merchants of London.'

[2] The *Memoirs* give the date of the commission. Bulkley and Summers, from whom the information was drawn, were members of Wolverston's expedition (p. 10).

of the previous year. It was not the purpose of the plotters to reveal their intentions at once to the Courteen party. They preferred to proceed by guile and fair words. Wolverston was accordingly furnished with a letter from Carlisle in the following terms :

' London, this 4th of Aprill, 1628.

To my very good friends Capt. John Powell and Capt. William Deane and other his Ma^ties loving subiects upon the Iland of Barbadoes.

After my hearty comendacons etc., Whereas his Ma^tie hath beene graciously pleased to make me a grante under the greate seale of England of all those sev'all Ilands comonly knowne by the name of the Careebe Islands and lying in the west indias betwixt 10 and 20 degrees of northern Latitude, I have upon some consideracons given leave to Capt. Charles Woolverston the bearer heerof to transporte a colonie for the beginning of a plantacon upon one of the said Ilands called Barbadoes ; And because I understand from my good ffreind S^r William Courten that you have alreadie begun a plantacon there wth. a certaine number of men I have given charge to Capt. Woolverston soe to demeane and behave himselfe that neither he nor his people give you anie iust occasion of offence or trouble. And I intreate you on the other side to receave them as your freinds and Countreymen the addition of whose strength cannot but further your securitie wthout anie way impeaching your proffitt : And whatsoever courtisies they shall receave from you there I shall be ever readie to acknowledg and deserve from you or anie of your freinds heere in England : Soe wishing a happie success to your endeavours, I reste your very lo : ffreind

CARLILE.' [1]

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 31. John Darrell supplied this copy in 1660, stating that Sir William Courteen's son showed him the original in 1646. Independent witnesses refer to the letter and its substance, which may be taken as genuine.

Wolverston sailed in April, 1628, with this letter, a party of eighty settlers, and supplies for fourteen months; and in June he arrived at Barbados.[1] It is doubtful whether Courteen in London knew of his destination, for some witnesses say that he went by way of St. Christopher. John Powell, junior, Courteen's Governor, had evidently received no warning of what was intended. A ship from London had reached him shortly before Wolverston's appearance,[2] and so we may presume that he had news of the passing of the Pembroke patent in February. The new claim based on Carlisle's patent must have puzzled him, but since the newcomers professed recognition of his authority he admitted them. Wolverston therefore landed his men, settling at a place called the Bridge, 'below where the town now is.' Somewhat later Rawden sent out another party of forty-two men with a year's supplies, who also arrived safely. The Rawden syndicate claimed that their expenditure up to this point amounted to £4,000.[3]

Once established, Wolverston proceeded to develop his plans for the seizure of the island. He assumed office as Governor, producing the commission which he had hitherto kept in reserve, and nominated a council of twenty. He claimed jurisdiction over Courteen's men and summoned them to his court near the Bridge. They, with the exception of Captain William Deane, Powell's second-in-command, refused compliance. Deane joined Wolverston, having previously known him at Bermuda. The two then marched upon Powell, and a battle was imminent

[1] Chanc. Proc., C. 60/38 (1).

[2] Evidence of Thomas Paris, C.O. 1/14, No. 31.

[3] Chanc. Proc., *ut sup.*

when one Kentlane, a clergyman, effected a pacification. Powell's men laid down their arms, he and others becoming prisoners. These events were extended over two or three months, the surrender taking place on 14th September.[1]

Before leaving for the continent the Earl of Carlisle had delegated the management of his personal interest in Barbados, as distinct from that of the Rawden syndicate, to two merchants named George Mole and Godfrey Havercamp. They fitted out a great ship in August, 1628, and sailed for Barbados with twenty labourers who were to found a plantation for the Earl's benefit. They had also authority to review Wolverston's proceedings and confirm or supersede him in the governorship at their discretion.[2] They arrived in October and set the Earl's twenty men to work, contracting with one Richard Leonard, who under-

[1] These details rest on the sole authority of the *Memoirs* which, in other places where it is possible to check them, usually prove correct for events, although sometimes inaccurate in dates. There is extant a document dated 4th Sept., 1628, to the following effect: 'It is thought fitting by all of us that are assembled,' that Capt. William Deane, Mr. John Swane, Mr. Richard Leonard, Mr. James Fuller, Mr. Samuel Richardson, Mr. Robert Rose, Mr. George Daves, Mr. Edmund Meddleton, Mr. John Foster, Mr. John Stockes, Mr. Henry Winthroppe, and Mr. Christopher Parkins should be assistants to Capt. Charles Wolferstone, Governor, exercising the usual powers of justices of the peace. (Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, Ser. 5, vol. i. p. 474). There is no clue to the identity of the framers of this resolution, but it evidently relates to Barbados. Assuming that the *Memoirs* give 14th Sept. in mistake for 4th Sept., this would very probably represent the decision of a general assembly called by Wolverston in the moment of his triumph. The Henry Winthrop named was a son of John Winthrop of Massachusetts; hence the migration of the document to that colony.

[2] For these matters the authority is Chanc. Proc., *ut sup.*

took to pay £1000 for the profit of their labour for one year. They then summoned all the inhabitants to a court at which Wolverston was confirmed as Governor, the planters acknowledged Carlisle's proprietorship and promised to pay him one-twentieth of their produce in addition to all the duties arising in England or in the island, and all subscribed their names to an agreement to that effect. Mole and Havercamp next framed certain laws with the consent of the planters, appointed Wolverston and Leonard collectors of the Earl's dues, and took their departure, having, as they might suppose, finally established their master's authority. We may imagine that the Courteen planters, in yielding to these onerous financial terms, were bowing to superior force ; and Thomas Paris, one of their number, adds a few particulars which supplement the above smooth-sounding account of the Carlisle party. He says that Wolverston soothed opposition by promising the people 'that they should continue in their former freedome without being a Collony,' but that having gained his point he seized Paris and others of Courteen's planters and had them tried for their lives by a jury, which acquitted them. Nevertheless, he kept them in prison until the island again changed hands.[1]

After the departure of the commissioners, as we may style Mole and Havercamp, Wolverston kept the planters 'in good order,' he himself supervising Rawden's men, whilst Leonard looked after those of Carlisle. The Rawden syndicate expected to clear their expenses in the first year by raising sixty thousand weight of tobacco, which should have yielded at least £10,000.[2] The cost of Carlisle's own expedition and plantation had been £5000,

[1] C.O. 1/14, No. 31. [2] Chanc. Proc., *ut sup.*

defrayed by Mole and Havercamp, whom we find many years afterwards suing vainly for payment of part of the money.[1] The Courteen settlers apparently continued as free planters, which may account for the aquiescence of many of them in the change of government: we do not know what their relations to Courteen had become prior to that event. William Deane maintained an independent plantation worked by eight or twelve labourers.

News of these proceedings reached England before the close of 1628, and the Courteen syndicate prepared for a counterstroke. On 18th December the Earl of Pembroke, by virtue of his patent, signed a commission for John Powell, senior, to be Governor of Barbados, an authority subsequently transferred to John Powell, junior.[2] A ship was fitted out to carry a hundred new settlers and a supply of arms, and in her Henry Powell sailed from London in January, 1629.[3] He made a good passage, arriving at the island on February 26th.[4] Henry Powell accomplished in two days what had taken Wolverston two months. He invited Wolverston and Deane to a conference on shore, saying that he had matters of weight to communicate from the Privy Council; and on their appearance he seized them and put them in chains. Then, according to Carlisle's bill of complaint, he called together the inhabitants and 'by practice and combination' had his nephew once more proclaimed Governor. He seized all the servants,

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm. 4th Rep.* (H. of L. MSS.), pp. 67, 96.

[2] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I, C. 58/4. [3] *Ibid.* and C. 60/38.

[4] *Ibid.* The *Memoirs* give the ship's name as the *Peter and John*, and the date of arrival as 14th Jan., which may actually have been the date of departure (*erratum* on p. 69). The witnesses of 1660 agree upon the main fact, although they give no details.

effects and tobacco (twenty thousand weight, worth £5000) of Rawden & Co., inflicting a total damage upon them estimated at £10,000. He took also £2000 worth of tobacco and stores from the Earl of Carlisle's plantation, and one thousand two hundred weight of tobacco from that of William Deane. He then laded on board his ship 100,000 weight of tobacco grown by the old planters, one-twentieth of which was payable to Carlisle, and returned to London in June, 1629, with Wolverston and Deane still in irons.

It was not until the spring of 1629 that the rival groups in England brought their dispute before a tribunal, but they had previously appealed informally to Charles I, who was disposed to favour Carlisle. This appears from a letter written by the King to Wolverston, under the impression that it would find him still in power at Barbados, and dated 3rd February, 1629. It is addressed to Wolverston as 'Governor of Barbados under the Earl of Carlisle,' and refers to the dispute and the royal decision for Carlisle, implying that the whole matter had arisen out of a confusion between the names Barbados and Barbuda. It goes on to say that Pembroke is now sending out divers persons under Captain Powell, and that disputes in the island are apprehended. Wolverston is to see that the Powells conform to Carlisle's authority, paying the proper rents, duties and customs—'we strictly charge you to put this in execution.'[1]

We may infer from this that Charles had actually sought to impose a compromise by which, whilst Carlisle secured the proprietorship, the property already held by

[1] C.O. 1/5, No. 1. The tone of the letter is stronger than is implied by the abstract in the *Colonial Calendar*.

Courteen's settlers was to be safeguarded—otherwise the King would surely have prohibited Powell's expedition or, if too late for that, have given orders for his immediate return. So one-sided an arrangement could not satisfy Courteen, who evidently pressed for a proper trial of the case. After two months' delay he obtained an irregular hearing, as we learn from another royal letter to Wolverston, dated 3rd April. Wolverston is here informed that his former instructions are suspended pending the result of an investigation by the Lord Keeper.[1] The investigation was apparently not a trial before a recognized court, but an informal hearing of evidence upon which to base a considered opinion for the King's information. The opinion is recorded in a document known as the Lord Keeper Coventry's Report, 28th April, 1629.[2] It throws light on so many passages that it is worth quoting in full :

' May it please your most Excellent Majestie.

Wheras your Majestie hath commaunded me to sett downe in writing, the questions which have been debated before me, betweene the Earles of Montgomery & Carlisle, & mine opinion thereof : I doe humbly certifie your Majestie, that the difference betweene them, is for an island called Barbados als Barbudos, in the 13th degree of Northerly latitude, claymed by the said Earles by severall letters patents from your Majestie.

Wherupon two questions have been insisted on before me. First, whether that Island be one of the Charibee Islands ; for if it be, it was agreed that the Earle of Carlisle ought to enioy it. But having heard Sr. Thomas Button, Sr. John Watts, Sr. Michael Geeres & Captain Pennington, all seamen of greate note, besides some others of inferior ranke, who have testified the extreame difficulty (or rather impossibility) of any ordinary resorte thither by the Charibees, in respect of a

[1] *Col. Cal.*, p. 97. [2] C.O. 1/5, No. 11.

constant wynde & strong current of the Sea there from East to West, & in respect their sayling is but from shore to shore in Canowes, without use of the Compasse; myne opinion is, that it is not one of the Caribee Islandes.

The second question was, whether this Iland were intended to be passed in the Earle of Carliles Patent, though it be not a Charibee Ilande, wherein it is not gainsaid, but it was intended, that in the Earle of Carliles Patent should passe, whatsoever was formerlie passed by way of custodie, to Captn. Warner at the suite of Ralph Meryfield & it appeeres by the patent it self, that the Custody of 4 Ilandes, viz, St. Christophers, Mevis, Monserat, & Barbados, was therby graunted to Warner; & I doe not finde, upon those debates, that any other Iland save this in question beares the name of Barbados, but eyther Barbada, or Barbadas; so as the Iland in question is expresly named in Warners Patent. Besides which & some other proofs by argument & circumstance, it is directly testified by Warner & Meryfield & by one Jefferson (who by the same patent was upon the death of Warner to succeede him in the government of those 4 Isles) that this Iland in question was the Iland intended in that Patent, & that they did not intende or desire any Patent or Commission for Barbadas in the 17th degree. And Nicholas Burgh, & Mr. Featley (a Minister that went with Meryfield to St. Christophers) testifie, that after that Patent obtayned, & before eyther of the Patents to the said Earles were graunted, both before & in that voyage, & at their being at St. Christophers, Meryfield & Warner declared that the Iland in question was that, for which the Commission was obtayned, & not Barbadas in 17 degrees. And it is testified by Captn. Smyth, & Robert Alsopp (both emploied by the Earle of Carlile in passing his Patent) that this was the Iland intended in the Erle of Carlile's Patent, by the name of Barbadas, which they tooke to have been the right name, following therin a Carde or Mappe of the Ilandes brought to Mr. Attorney to pass the Earles Patent by, & which Carde was also produced before me, Aginst which on the Lo: Chamberlaines parte it hath been excepted; first, that these testi-

monies are not taken in a iudiciall way: secondly, that some of the witnesses, viz, Meryfield, Warner & Jefferson are not indifferent, having been interessed in the custodie thereof, as they affirme, during your Majesties pleasure: And some reasons have been urged, against the matter of their testimony; some upon speaches testified to have been uttered by some of those witnesses crossing what they have testified; & others upon probabilities that Warner & Jefferson should intende Barbadas in the 17th degree, & not this: But these are also subject to the same exception of not being taken in a Judiciall way; neyther could I take them otherwise, upon the Reference made to me. And lastlie, that when the Lo: Chamberlaines Patent was to passe by the name of Barbudos, it was shewed to my Lo: of Carliles Agents, that nothing might be passed that was formerly passed to the Erle of Carlile; which was excused on the other parte, in respect they knew it not by the name of Barbudos. Upon all which, howsoever this last sheweth the Nobleness of my Lo: Chamberlaine, & his unwillingness to passe any thing formerlie passed to my Lo: of Carlile; & both it & th'other matters on my Lo: Chamberlaines part, might give him a probable grounde to make claime to this Ilande; yet finding so many witnesses in the affirmative as it is difficult to counterpoise them, eyther with Negative witnesses or with circumstances; Myne opinion is, that the proof on the Earle of Carliles parte (that this Iland in question was intended to be passed in his Patent) is verie stronge.

All which I most humblie submitt to your Majesties Princely wisdome, & good pleasure.

Your Majesties most humble servant

28 April 1629.' THO. COVENTRYE.

It must be said of this Report that its author seems to have been at pains to sum up with impartiality the evidence put before him. But his conclusion appears somewhat lame, for he ends by giving his verdict to the side which produces the most numerous and hardest-swearing witnesses, although not entirely convinced of their vera-

city. It is, perhaps, not fanciful to read between the lines that Coventry was a fair-minded man yielding unwillingly to pressure. One argument we miss that we should certainly expect to see put forward, namely, that the whole expense of developing Barbados had been borne by Courteen in his patron's name. But probably this was ruled out by the terms of reference to which Coventry alludes. It is a pity that these have not been preserved, for they would furnish evidence of the extent to which the dice were loaded against Courteen. As it is we can only place a bad construction on the fact that the trial was not heard before a regular court but in a quite informal manner with evidence 'not taken in a judiciall way.' If we are to believe Warner and Merrifield—and, as we have shown earlier, there is good reason to believe them—they had determined to steal Barbados as early as 1625. It was not then planted by Courteen, but it had been discovered at his expense, and there is no evidence that at that time his opponents had ever set eyes upon it. The contradictions of the witnesses upon the inclusion of Barbados in Warner's commission of 1625 may be explained on the ground that Warner, whilst actually having Barbados in his mind, allowed any contemporaries in London, who might be interested, to suppose that he was claiming Barbuda: it was not advisable to arouse opposition before the time should be ripe and a powerful patron enlisted. All these considerations lead us back to the origin of Courteen's troubles, the unlucky call at St. Christopher of his pioneer ship in 1624–5. That has escaped notice owing to its concealment under a false date in the little-known *Memoirs of Barbados* of 1741.[1]

[1] See above, Chap. I, p. 16.

The King's predilection in the matter is not in doubt, and on this point we may quote a writing of Colonel Scott's which, although muddled in its facts, may represent a genuine tradition of opinion :

> ' The great Civillians of that time were of Opinion that the right was between Phillip Earle of Pembrooke and S^r^ William Curteen, and that the Earle of Carlisle had no Rationall pretence to it, they argued that the Earle of Pembrooke, and S^r^ William Curteen, were first in Occupancie, that they had several comissions to plant that Island from King Charles the first, and moreover the Earle of Pembrooke further Aledged, that he was in Contract with S^r^ William Curteen for his discovery and promotion, 1624, which King James had granted to be a right, Nevertheless the Earle of Carlisle, being a more assiduous Courtier then the Earle of Pembrooke, at length got a grant to passe in favour of himselfe.' [1]

The King did not delay to act upon Coventry's finding. Within a few days he wrote a third letter to Wolverston telling him that Carlisle's claim was now allowed to the exclusion of all others, and that he was to act upon the instructions of 3rd February.[2] This, so far as the King was concerned, was the final decision. Shortly afterwards the news must have reached home that Wolverston was a prisoner, and Carlisle learned that he had still to capture Barbados. His next instrument for that purpose was Captain Henry Hawley, a man destined to enjoy a long West Indian career whose keynotes were to be audacity and a supreme disregard of scruple. Hawley sailed in the *Carlisle* in the summer of 1629, and reached Barbados on 9th August.[3] John Powell forbade him to land,

[1] Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 62-54.

[2] *Colonial Calendar*, 1574-1660, p. 98.

[3] The *Memoirs*, p. 12, give the date as 9th April, but I conclude that this must be a mistake of transcription since Henry Powell

but Hawley outwitted his opponent. He invited Powell in friendly fashion to an entertainment on board—' a mess of critched brewes '—and there seized him and chained him to the mast. The Governor once disposed of, the island was soon at Hawley's feet. His conquest was probably easier than Wolverston's had been, for the latter's men, supporters of Carlisle, were now well established. Courteen's settlers must still have greatly outnumbered the usurpers, but they showed little spirit ; they seem to have reckoned that a change of proprietorship would make little difference to their prospects. This lack of loyalty was the inevitable result of mingling the establishment of a polity with motives of private profit. It was inherent in all schemes of colonization by private enterprise untempered by state control, a process so justly belauded on other grounds but needing to be examined with discrimination.

Hawley stayed barely a week at Barbados, so easy was his triumph. Then, leaving Robert Wheatly as Deputy-Governor, he sailed on to the Leeward Islands, reaching them just in time to fall into the hands of the Spanish force which raided that group in September. After he had gone Courteen's party made an attempt at insurrection which Wheatly put down.[1] With this last effort the claim of Sir William Courteen to Barbados passed out of the realm of reality into the dreary shadow-world of bankruptcy and chancery, whose wastes it was destined to haunt long after all the principal actors in the drama had passed away.

deposed that it was six months after he himself had retaken the island. Also in April Wolverston was still thought at home to be in possession.

[1] *Memoirs of Barbados*, p. 12.

The first piece of litigation thus arising belongs to the sequence of events of the present chapter. In September, 1629, before the news of Hawley's success could have come to hand, Carlisle and the Rawden syndicate commenced an action in Chancery against Courteen, Mounsey and the Powells. The plaintiffs alleged a conspiracy to surprise Barbados in contravention of the terms of the two Carlisle patents, their bill of complaint embodying the details which we have already quoted concerning Henry Powell's capture of Wolverston. Nothing is said about the Pembroke patent, and there is no accusation against Pembroke himself. The answer of the defendants shows how completely the Lord Keeper Coventry's judgment had cut the ground from under their feet. They make no claim to ownership of the island, and content themselves with a denial of conspiracy, saying that Henry Powell was despatched on an ordinary trading voyage without any warlike intention.[1] Furthermore, it appears from an order of the court that Sir William Courteen adopted a conciliatory attitude. He prayed indulgence for the fact that he had been absent in the country when the action was commenced, and so had been late in hearing of it; and asked for a respite in order that he might see Carlisle and come to an understanding with him.[2] The Chancery records appear to contain no notice of the termination of the affair, and so it seems very likely that it was settled

[1] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I, C. 60/38 (1) the bill of complaint, 9th Sept., 1629, and (2) the answer of Courteen and Mounsey, 26th Oct.; C. 58/4, the answer of John Powell, senior, 28th Oct. Henry Powell's answer is not recorded, and it seems a fair deduction from the tenor of the above that he shouldered the blame and absented himself.

[2] Chanc. Decrees & Orders, 1629 A, f. 10, 12th Oct., 1629.

out of court as Courteen evidently desired. Probably the news of the recapture of Barbados by Hawley's expedition of 1629 produced a general disposition to cry quits and close the incident.

All this indicates that Courteen himself had, in 1629, no hope of regaining the control of Barbados, and is somewhat at variance with the story told by his heirs after the Restoration. According to that, he laboured under oppression for many years, hoping for allies in the House of Commons, and then, seeing no prospect of a Parliament in his lifetime, he offered to grant the Carlisle party the lands of Barbados in fee simple for £25,000 and the expense of a survey; 'but they answered, As they got the Island by power, they would keep it by force.' [1] If there is any truth in this, it must relate to the lands actually planted at Courteen's expense, as distinguished from his proprietorship of the whole island.

Another legal action by the Rawden partnership had a longer duration, although we know equally little about its decision. In 1630–2 they were claiming damages in the Admiralty Court against John Powell, junior.[2] During the latter's second governorship, after the fall of Wolverston and before the invasion of Hawley, a ship had been sent out by Perkins and Banister with cargo and passengers for Barbados and St. Christopher. She touched first at Barbados, where Powell arrested her and had all the people and goods disembarked there. The claim arose out of the damage suffered by the diversion of the consignments intended for St. Christopher.

[1] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 602.

[2] H.C.A., Examinations, No. 49, evidence given 12th and 18th June, 1630, and 19th and 20th April, 1632.

IV

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PROPRIETARY GOVERNMENT IN THE LEEWARD ISLANDS

In 1626, as we have seen, Warner sailed for St. Christopher with his commission as Governor and, according to a view which is implicit in all the evidence, with the knowledge that a negotiation had at least been begun with the Earl of Carlisle for the proprietorship of the English islands. The chief merchants at this time interested in the Leeward group were Ralph Merrifield and Maurice Thompson. They gave their adhesion to Carlisle and were reinforced by others introduced by the Earl as his position became stronger ; but the whole Leeward combination was never identical with that which seized Barbados, although one or two members were common to both. Warner and Merrifield, who had almost certainly instigated the Barbados plot, had ostensibly little to do with Carlisle's proceedings there. Warner at least, and probably Merrifield, received payment in the shape of a generous share in the profits of the Leeward Islands. In the record of the years which followed nothing is clearer than that Warner and the Earl worked in perfect harmony for the enrichment of themselves by the exploitation of the planters, by whom they were regarded as despots of anything but a benevolent type.

During the first year after Warner's resumption of his duties we have few details concerning his administration, but we see its results in the substantial cargoes of tobacco sent home in 1627. But in the summer of 1627 Carlisle's first grant passed the seals, and its validity as regarded the Leeward Islands was from the outset clear of the uncertainty which beset the claim to Barbados. A vigorous move to assert the Earl's rights at once commenced. Immediately on the passage of the grant Merrifield travelled to St. Christopher to proclaim the new authority.[1] As a sop to the planters the reading of the patent favourable to them was promised; they were told that their cargoes were to go free of duty, and so were induced to take leases of their holdings from Carlisle.[2] Some, however, were suspicious, for we learn that the innovation 'begott some disturbance in the Islands'; [3] but Warner had the situation well in hand. Maurice Thompson was too powerful a man to be tricked. His price was a grant of 1000 acres, which he obtained in 1627,[4] and thenceforward he acted in the proprietary interest. Sir Samuel Saltonstall seems also to have been a considerable trader and, through agents, a planter.

Emigration to St. Christopher went steadily forward. There are records of numbers of ships sailing in 1627–9, some of them chartered by Carlisle himself. In October, 1627, he sent a consignment of guns and ammunition for

[1] *Colonial Cal.*, p. 83. The paper concerned is there misdated by a year: its proper date is evidently the end of 1627 or beginning of 1628, for it refers to a proclamation of 9th Aug., 1627.

[2] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 4.

[3] C.O. 1/14, No. 32, James Astrey's evidence, 1660.

[4] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 9.

which he had obtained a warrant prior to the passage of his grant. In the same ship arrived the wife of Thomas Warner and several other Englishwomen. By the opening of 1629 Smith records that 3000 people have gone or are going to the island.[1] During the same period the Caribs were finally overcome. It is not clear whether they had all been driven out by the first massacre or whether some lingered in the remoter regions. But they made several attacks, in which the French were the chief sufferers, until 1629, when the white men's numbers had become so great as to render the enterprise hopeless.

One of the new settlers was a certain Anthony Hilton, a Durham man of much initiative and enterprise, who bore a part in the extension of the colony to the neighbouring island of Nevis. In May, 1623, we hear of him as commanding a ship belonging to the Virginia Company, leaving the Isle of Wight on a voyage to Virginia and the Hudson River.[2] Subsequently he made another voyage to Virginia in the service of some merchants of Barnstaple.[3] On his way out he touched at St. Christopher and made friends with Warner. Completing the voyage to the Chesapeake, he returned to Barnstaple after discharging some tobacco in Ireland. He had persuaded some Irish gentlemen, importers of Virginian tobacco, that a plantation in St. Christopher would be a good investment. Equipped by them, he set out once more and made the first plantation on the windward side of St. Christopher by licence of Warner. After he had done some work at

[1] *Works* (1907 ed.), ii. p. 193.

[2] Manchester Papers (R.O.), No. 364.

[3] Egerton 2395, ff. 503-7, narrative by John Hilton, brother of Anthony.

clearing, planting and building he was surprised early one morning by the Caribs, who did much damage and killed some of his men. He then moved over to the leeward shore and began afresh. When he had raised a crop he sailed for Ireland and on to London, disposing of his tobacco at 1s. 8d. per lb.[1] These details are of interest as showing how the more wealthy of the early settlers, with money to charter their own shipping, were able to combine planting and trading, and so to gain a predominance over the smaller planters. The conditions of the time, as we have seen, favoured the merchants, who in a few years became the virtual if not the nominal owners of most of the land. The small men had not the resources to tide them over an unlucky season, and were obliged to mortgage their holdings to those who could give them credit.

Hilton's visit to London must have been early in 1628, for in that year he fell in with a merchant named Thomas Littleton and concerted with him a new scheme of expansion. Littleton is described as the Earl of Carlisle's auditor,[2] and obtained from him a concession to make a plantation on one of the unoccupied islands of the Leeward group, the best land at St. Christopher being all taken up. Smith describes the concession as a patent, but a witness in 1641 reduces it to 'a promise of a lease.'[3] With Littleton were associated Anthony Hilton, George Griffith and Henry Gardiner,[4] so that here we have another separate

[1] John Hilton, *ut sup.*

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commn. 4th Rep.* (House of Lords MSS.), p. 96.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*; Chanc. Proc., Ch. I, Bundle L. 14, No. 48 shows that Littleton sub-let part of his share to Roger Glover, and afterwards sold him one-third of his interest in Nevis for £1000.

syndicate under Carlisle's patronage. What they did is best told in John Smith's words,[1] from which it is evident that Hilton had yet something to learn about island planting :

> 'The last yeare, 1628, Master Littleton, with some others got a Pattent of the Earle of Carlile, to plant the Ile called the Barbados [*i.e.* Barbuda], thirty leagues Northward of Saint Christophers ; which by report of their informers and undertakers, for the excellencie and pleasantnesse thereof, they called Dulcina, but when they came there, they found it such a barren rocke, they left it : although they were told as much before, they would not beleeve it, perswading themselves, those contradicters would get it for themselves, was thus by their cunning opinion, the deceiver of themselves ; for seeing it lie conveniently for their purpose in a map, they had not patience to know the goodnesse or badnesse, the inconvenience nor probabilities of the quality, nor quantity ; which errour doth predominate in most of our homebred adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it ; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are. . . . At last because they would be absolute, they came to Mevis,[2] a little Ile by Saint Christophers ; where they seated themselves, well furnished with all necessaries, being about the number of an hundred, and since increased to an hundred and fifty persons, whereof many were old planters of St. Christophers, especially Master Anthony Hilton, and Master Edward Thompson.'

Of the Nevis colony thus planted it is clear that Anthony Hilton was Governor. Its establishment aroused some jealousy at St. Christopher, and when Hilton went to that

[1] *Works* (1907), vol. ii. pp. 198-200. John Hilton's account corroborates, emphasizing his brother's part.

[2] John Hilton gives the date of settling as 22nd July, 1628. He also says that the party viewed and disliked Antigua and Montserrat in addition to Barbuda. He himself was a member of the expedition.

island to revisit his plantation there he became involved in a serious broil with the authorities. Thomas Warner had again gone to England—he was there in time to give evidence at the trial of April, 1629—leaving as his deputy his son Edward, who relied much upon the advice of one Mr. 'Asten.'[1] This man seems to have been the James Astrey or Astree whom we have quoted as giving evidence in 1660, being then aged 57. He is described as 'an Inns of Court gent & too much knowing in the lawes for the poore planters.' For some reason he quarrelled with Hilton and attempted to have him murdered, but the plot miscarried. Hilton then gathered his friends in arms against Astrey and Edward Warner, but after some more exciting passages was persuaded to abate his fury and go back to Nevis. The incident is typical of the burning jealousy with which these little colonies regarded one another. The planters established in one island always resented the development of another; and Virginia openly demanded the prohibition of tobacco-planting anywhere outside her own borders. Her hatred against Maryland a few years later is well known. The reason is not far to seek. All the plantations depended alike upon tobacco, and every new establishment helped to glut the market and depress the price.

It is evident from the signatures to some negotiations at St. Christopher that Thomas Warner had quitted that island between September and November, 1628.[2] He

[1] John Hilton's account, which is followed throughout this paragraph.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 12-14. Thomas Warner made an agreement with d'Esnambuc on 5th Sept., but another document of 8th Nov. is signed by Edward Warner as English Governor.

remained in England for some eighteen months and concerted measures with Carlisle for the development of their fortunes. Concerning Carlisle's profits we have two letters from agents of his. The first, of 22nd September, 1628,[1] says: 'Your Island buysiness hath not as yet yealded above 200 li.' The second, of 28th December,[2] reports: 'Your Islands stand well, and are most hopefull, ther is a 20,000 waight of tobacco alredy imported wch. is to pay custome & impost wch. is 37 li. 10s. a 1000 waight, besides that of your owne wch. is come already, being 2700 waight or thereabouts.' The crops of 1628 were evidently arriving towards the end of the year. Carlisle had already shown his hand in the matter of the duties. On 3rd March, 1628, he had obtained a warrant from the King making it clear that the immunity clauses in the first grant were to be interpreted in such fashion that the proprietor was to have the benefit not only on his own goods but on those transmitted by other persons. In other words the planters were to pay the Earl the duties from which they had been led to believe they would be exempt.[3] The second patent, of 7th April, 1628, confirmed the arrangement, leaving the planters no redress.

Warner rendered good service to Carlisle by his evidence at Coventry's investigation of the Barbados claims. He was also on the side of authority in the enforcement of the duties. His reward was twofold. On 21st September, 1629, the King knighted him at Hampton Court; and a week later Carlisle appointed him Governor of St. Chris-

[1] S. P. Dom., Car. I., vol. cxvii. No. 53.

[2] S. P. Dom., Car. I., vol. cxxii. No. 59.

[3] C.O. 1/4, No. 17. The *Colonial Calendar* dates this 1627, but cannot be correct, for Carlisle had then received no patent.

topher for life. The commission recites Warner's services in planting, fortifying and enlarging St. Christopher, encouraging others to do the like on other islands, and proclaiming the Earl's patent 'with all possible alacritye and obedience.' He is therefore created sole Governor for life of St. Christopher, with power to fortify, discipline the inhabitants for defence, provide arms and munition, and keep good guard; to do justice in civil and criminal cases, and to use martial law in case of insurrection; to compel every landholder to plant foodstuffs in sufficient quantity; to maintain divine service after the manner of the Church of England; to make orders and constitutions for the common benefit, and to enforce them until ratified or otherwise by the Earl; and to carry out all the instructions of Carlisle which are not repugnant to the laws and customs of England.[1] Both the Earl and his successor kept faith with their able and efficient servant, who retained his office until the day of his death in 1649.

We must now hark back a little to the proceedings of the French and the partition of St. Christopher between them and the English. We have mentioned that d'Esnambuc and his crew of privateersmen had joined the English at some time in 1625, and that Warner had shortly afterwards sailed for England to seek a patron and get his authority recognized. D'Esnambuc, probably a little later, followed his example, appearing in France with a cargo of tobacco in 1626, and making a display of opulence in Paris in order to impress public opinion.[2] With him

[1] Signed and sealed 29th Sep., 1629.—Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 15-16.

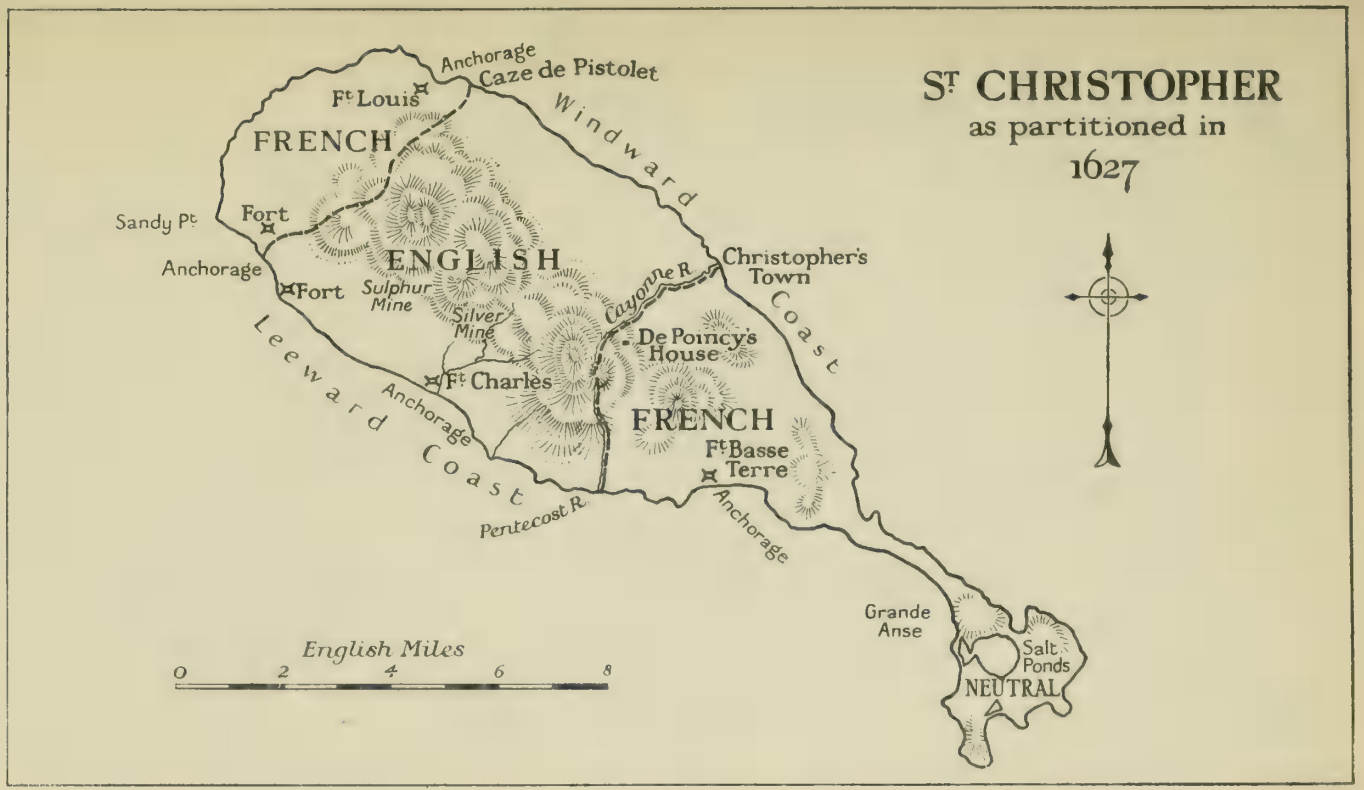
[2] J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire des Antilles*, Paris, 1667, vol. i. p. 7. This is the leading authority for the French proceedings. Pierre

was his friend and subordinate Urbain de Roissey. In October, 1626, they succeeded in inducing Richelieu to establish the Company of the Isles of America, and to commission themselves as captains for the plantation of St. Christopher.[1] Early in 1627 they sailed with three ships, and reached the island on 8th May. They suffered a terrible mortality on the voyage and after landing. Warner, as we have seen, had got back in the previous August, and Du Tertre says he had now 400 men in good health. The French historian, who had been personally in the Antilles, is very emphatic upon the superior management of the English, who never sent out reinforcements without an adequate supply of food. He blames his own countrymen, on the contrary, for shiftlessness and lack of forethought, even after experience might have taught them to do better. It is of a later voyage that he records a horrible story of thirty sick men disembarked on the beach of St. Christopher, left helpless and unattended, and eaten by land crabs so that nothing but the bones remained.

The first business after d'Esnambuc's return was the partition of the island. Warner had already occupied the shore of the Grande Rade, near the middle of the leeward coast, and Hilton was by this time planting on the windward side, from which the Caribs eventually forced him out. Between the two was hilly ground unfit for

Margry, in *Origines Transatlantiques*, Paris, 1863, works over the ground with the aid of unpublished archives which, however, he seems to have found somewhat scanty. He doubts Du Tertre in places, but does not add much of importance in the shape of corrections.

[1] Du Tertre, pp. 8-11 ; Margry gives an important document in full (p. 99).


St CHRISTOPHER
as partitioned in
1627
Anchorage
Caze de Pistolet
Ft Louis
FRENCH
Windward
Coast
Sandy Pt
Fort
ENGLISH
Anchorage
Fort
Sulphur
Mine
Silver
Mine
Cayonne R
Christopher's
Town
De Poincy's
House
Ft Charles
Leeward
Coast
Anchorage
FRENCH
Ft Basse
Terre
Pentecost R
Anchorage
Grande
Anse
Salt
Ponds
NEUTRAL
English Miles
0 2 4 6 8

immediate cultivation. This left the two extremities of the island vacant for the French, and led to the peculiar division by which the French obtained separated territories at either end of St. Christopher, whilst the English holding lay in one continuous area between them.[1] The frontiers are best discerned from the accompanying map, which is based partly on that given by du Tertre and partly on documentary information. Warner and the two Frenchmen signed a treaty to this effect on 13th May, 1627.[2] Its terms also included an agreement for fixing prices for European merchandise, a guarantee of mutual aid against Caribs and Spaniards and for the preservation of neutrality in case of war between England and France, and an arrangement for the common use by both nations of the salt ponds, rivers, roads, mines and woods.

The unequal development of the French and English colonies soon imperilled this treaty. The eligible ground in the English quarters was all taken up, and they began to complain at having to seek fresh lands in other islands whilst the French were not making proper use of their share of St. Christopher. The French, however, continued in a weakly state, and the English planters began openly to cross the frontiers and usurp land alloted to their less fortunate rivals. The neutrality agreement was also a

[1] The continuity of the English share was not, however, of much practical advantage, for the ridge of hills in the interior was for ordinary purposes impassable, and traffic between the English windward and leeward quarters went round by roads passing through the French territory.

[2] Du Tertre, i. p. 17, gives its terms. An English copy, substantially to the same effect, but with the names atrociously spelt, occurs in Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 3-4. Anthony Hilton was one of the signatories.

source of trouble. Its observance was a simple matter on land, but who was to say how far it extended to the sea? It was alleged that at the opening of 1628 an English captain boarded and plundered a Frenchman 'rideinge at the french plantacon' at St. Christopher, and later in the year French merchantmen found the anchorage so unsafe from this cause that they preferred to lade at St. Martins, the goods being taken thither in small boats. Even there one vessel was taken by John Powell, senior, in August, 1628.[1] Early in 1629 d'Esnambuc, seeing that effective occupation was urgently necessary, went to France to impress his views upon Richelieu and procure the despatch of a sufficient force. Much of this we have on the authority of du Tertre,[2] and certain English documents afford partial corroboration. These are copies of two treaties of 5th September and 8th November, 1628, respectively.[3] The first attempts to regulate the shipping question at the island, and the second yields to the English the right of fortifying Sandy Point although the French are still permitted to reside there. This looks like the regularization of an encroachment, and possibly means more than appears on the surface. D'Esnambuc's name is on the document but, judging from du Tertre, he would seem to have signed under compulsion, for it was soon afterwards that he departed to lay his case before Richelieu.

The Cardinal listened sympathetically. He already had secret information that the Spaniards intended to clear out all intruders from the Leeward Islands, and he judged that the time had come to send an armament both

[1] H.C.A., Examinations, No. 47, evidence of 2nd April, 1628; and No. 48, 5th Mar., 1629.

[2] Vol. i. pp. 22-4. [3] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 12-13.

to parry the Spanish stroke and to reduce the English within their limits. Although France and England were at war Richelieu had no intention of expelling the English from St. Christopher, for that would have been to play into the hands of Spain by placing the weak French colony at her mercy ; but he did intend to enforce the original agreement of partition. Impelled by these motives he prepared a squadron of six large warships and three armed merchantmen. D'Esnambuc and 300 new colonists were embarked, and the fleet sailed in June, 1629, under the command of François de Rotondy, Sieur de Cahuzac. It reached St. Christopher at the beginning of August.[1]

Cahuzac acted with promptness and decision. He sent a demand to Edward Warner to observe the treaty of 1627 and retire within the agreed frontiers without delay. Warner temporized, but there were ten English merchantmen in the anchorage and Cahuzac at once attacked them. His warships were too strong to be withstood, and after a three hours' combat he was in possession of three prizes. Warner then promised satisfaction, and the two commanders signed an agreement cancelling the treaties of 1628 and returning to that of 1627.[2] Cahuzac thereupon restored the vessels he had captured.[3] It is worth noting that on these matters the account of Du Tertre is fully substantiated by that of an English eyewitness : [4] the Frenchman is in general a very sound historian and quite devoid of

[1] Du Tertre (p. 25) says the end of August, but an English document shows Cahuzac to have been there on August 1/11.

[2] Egerton 2395, f. 14 ; Du Tertre, pp. 25-6.

[3] Margry, p. 34, on the authority of a paper in the French archives ; also the document next quoted.

[4] S. P. Dom., Car. I., vol. cli. No. 51 (i).

any undue partiality for his own countrymen, towards whom his attitude is rather that of the candid friend.

So far the conduct of Cahuzac had been unexceptionable, and had testified to the good faith both of Richelieu and d'Esnambuc. But he now made what turned out to be a fatal blunder. Choosing to believe that the Spanish fleet from Europe had already passed through the islands to leeward, and was therefore unable to deliver its projected blow, he gave the word for his own squadron to break up and disperse on separate privateering cruises. Perhaps he had no choice in the matter, for we are told that one of his captains, Giron, had already parted company without leave, and the others may have refused further duty. Whatever the reason, Cahuzac's fleet sailed away from St. Christopher, and he himself, after planting a few men on St. Eustatius, bore away for the Gulf of Mexico. It was a mistake which cost the loss of the labours of the past five years, for the Spaniards were still to windward, on their way across the Atlantic.

Before relating what took place on their arrival we must pick up the thread of the story from the English side. Anthony Hilton, after the dispute at St. Christopher already recorded, had retired to Nevis, where he remained in office as Governor. At the same time, Carlisle in England had determined to supersede him by Captain George Hay, a kinsman of his own. Captain Hawley was entrusted with the task, and towards the end of August, 1629, he entered the roadstead of Nevis with the ship *Carlisle*, fresh from the successful kidnapping of John Powell at Barbados. He intended to play the same trick upon Hilton, but the latter received timely warning from one of the *Carlisle's* passengers, a minister named Lake.

Hilton instantly decided to escape to England to state his case at headquarters. He went on board a small merchantman, which sailed out of the roadstead under the nose of Hawley, ignorant that his quarry was evading him; and in due course Hilton reached home. The planters of Nevis mustered in arms, received Hawley politely, told him that Hilton was gone, and refused to allow any of his people to stay on the island. Hawley put a good face on his rebuff and was entertaining some of the Nevis men in his cabin when suddenly a Spanish fleet rounded Pelican Point and fell upon the English shipping in the road.[1]

The Spanish fleet was the regular armament outward bound for Mexico to bring home treasure. Its commander, Don Fadrique de Toledo, was ordered to take the Leeward Islands on his way and to clear out the English and French, but not to leave a garrison in their place. Richelieu, as we have seen, had provided against the stroke, but Cahuzac had not fulfilled his orders. The Spaniards, to the number of thirty-four or thirty-six sail, reached Nevis on 7th September.[2] They took several English ships at the first surprise, but others, including the *Carlisle*, escaped to St. Christopher. Some of the captured vessels made a

[1] John Hilton's account, *ut supra*.

[2] Deposition of William Cocke, an eyewitness.—S. P. Dom., Car. I., vol. 151, No. 51 (i). Other accounts are in *ibid.*, No. 20; J. Hilton, *ut supra*; Eg. MSS. 2395, pp. 508-9; du Tertre, i. pp. 28-36; and Guillaume Coppier, *Histoire et Voyage des Indes Occidentales*, Lyon, 1645, pp. 36-41. C. Fernandez Duro, in *Armada Espanola*, vol. iv. pp. 107-12, gives an account written from du Tertre and Spanish sources, and not differing substantially from the above. He estimates the total number of prisoners from the two islands as 2,300, including Frenchmen.

stout resistance before striking their flags. The Nevis settlers had only one great gun, but they made preparations for defence. Their indentured servants, however, refused to fight, and John Hilton was obliged to go to Don Fadrique to ask for terms. The Spaniard was courteous and offered fair conditions, including a promise of shipping to take the planters home, or service in the Spanish fleet for those who preferred it. On these terms Nevis surrendered, its crops were destroyed, and its houses burnt.

Don Fadrique next proceeded to St. Christopher, where the inhabitants were busy entrenching the landing-beaches. He found the *Carlisle* aground and made prize of her. Then, after bombarding the defences for some days, he landed a force of soldiers. De Roissey was in command at this point, the Grand Anse,[1] in French territory near the southern end of the island. D'Esnambuc and Edward Warner sent aid from their commands, and a combined English and French force went forward to do battle with the invaders. The accounts of what followed are contradictory. The English accuse the French of bolting at the first fire, and the French make a similar charge against the English ; both agree that de Roissey acted feebly. In the end the allies parted, each retreating to their own quarters in the interior. Giron with two or three ships now appeared at Sandy Point on the western extremity of the island and took off the French to the number of about 400, d'Esnambuc and de Roissey included. They tried to reach Antigua, but in their overcrowded and undervictualled condition could not effect their purpose and ran to leeward to St. Martin instead. There for the present we leave them. The English, with all their shipping taken or

[1] Coppier, p. 37.

fled, could not make a similar escape, and Edward Warner agreed to a surrender on like terms to those of Nevis. Don Fadrique allotted shipping to carry them home, and took hostages for its safe restoration to Spanish hands. Many of the English, however, variously estimated as from two to four hundred in number,[1] evaded the surrender by taking to the woods and hills. When the Spaniards had departed they came forth from their hiding-places and resumed occupation of the ruined plantations. Don Fadrique, who seems to have had no great liking for his task, made no effort to chase these fugitives, and sailed away to his own destination at the earliest possible moment.

Meanwhile d'Esnambuc and the French refugees were in sad straits among the uncolonized islands. De Roissey deserted outright and made for France, where he gave so lame an account of himself that Richelieu sent him to the Bastille. D'Esnambuc left a few men at St. Martin, St. Bartholomew and Anguilla, and led the main body to Antigua. Finding that island unpromising, they removed to Montserrat, whence they sent Giron to reconnoitre St. Christopher. He found the Spaniards gone and the English in possession. They sought to argue that the catastrophe had cancelled all previous arrangements, and forbade the French to resettle. But Giron took two English ships which had anchored in the road, and sent them to fetch his compatriots from Montserrat. Thus before the end of the year d'Esnambuc was re-established in his old quarters, and the English, now under one Maurice Gardner,

[1] S. P. Dom., vol. cli. *ut supra*. The number taken off by the Spaniards is placed at 700 by an eyewitness in C.O. 1/5, No. 100 (ii). Of these the majority reached England in various ships provided by Don Fadrique.

in theirs, both parties being much reduced in numbers. Even so, the food supply ran short, and 1630 was remembered as a year of famine. To relieve the scarcity 120 hogsheads of meal had to be sent out from England.[1]

Sir Thomas Warner and Anthony Hilton were both in London when news of the disaster came to hand. They had their commissions confirmed and lost no time in collecting more men to resettle the islands, Hilton having been received into favour with the Earl of Carlisle. His intended supplanter, Captain George Hay, was one of the persons detained as hostages by Don Fadrique. Since the shipping for which these unfortunates were held as security was not restored by the English, they suffered some five years' imprisonment before regaining their native land.[2] Warner and Hilton sailed early in 1630.[3] The former, combining his new forces with the numerous refugees remaining in St. Christopher, soon had the nucleus of a flourishing colony re-established ; but it is evident that the old superiority over the French had been lost, and the two nations were henceforth on more equal terms. Anthony Hilton likewise found about forty Englishmen

[1] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. p. 159 ; see also a petition of the planters, 4th Feb., 1631, wrongly bound with colonial papers of 1721-49, printed in full in V. L. Oliver's *Hist. of Antigua*, London, 1894, vol. i. p. xiii.

[2] John Hilton's account.

[3] C.O. 1/5, No. 89 shows Warner to have been at St. Christopher by 3rd May, 1630. There is in the British Museum (4453, ff. 4 (3)) a printed copy of *A Sermon preached to . . . Sir Thos. Warner* by John Featly. It is stated to have been delivered to Warner and his men ' bound to the West Indies, for their Farewell,' at St. Buttolph's, Aldersgate, on 6th Sept., 1629. But it is evident from the other documents we have cited that the departure was postponed for some months after that date.

at Nevis, who 'after some little difference of opinion' submitted to his authority. Soon afterwards, however, Thomas Littleton, the merchant who had financed the original settlement, came over in person to see what could be retrieved of his losses. Hilton resigned the government to him and went off to Tortuga, where a mixed assemblage of English and French were establishing a privateering base.[1] The exact dates of these transactions are not clear, but Littleton seems to have remained at Nevis at least until 1634.[2] Then he also set out for Tortuga in order to follow up his debtors in that island. He died, however, on the voyage, and Warner appointed Captain Thomas Spurrow as his successor.[3]

Concerning the re-establishment of the proprietary authority in the Leeward Islands we have little direct evidence. But the record of subsequent years shows that it was thoroughly carried out, and that Warner had the colonists under even stricter control after than before the raid of 1629. The latter had been, from the point of view of its Spanish promoters, a futile proceeding, and this was largely due to the fact that Don Fadrique de Toledo was a humane man who did not believe in the justice of his instructions. It is easy to imagine how a Spanish commander of a different type might have made of St. Christopher and Nevis a sanguinary warning against intrusion into the Antilles, and might perhaps have diverted English efforts permanently into other directions.

[1] Afterwards called Association and taken over by the Providence Company, for which see Prof. A. P. Newton's *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, Yale, 1914. Anthony Hilton died at Tortuga in 1634.

[2] Deduced from John Hilton's statements.

[3] John Hilton's statements.

V

PROPRIETARY ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE FIRST EARL OF CARLISLE

(i) *The Internal Affairs of the Islands*, 1629–36

THE years 1629–30 witnessed, as we have shown, the final establishment of Carlisle's authority over Barbados and the re-establishment of his hold upon the Leeward Islands after the Spanish raid of the former year. Before proceeding to examine the details of his administration it will be convenient to pass in review what information we can collect concerning the sources of his revenue from the islands and the extent of his expenditure upon them.

First, the proprietor, by his second patent of April, 1628, enjoyed the privilege of collecting all customs, subsidies and imposts upon the islands trade, whether payable in England or in the island ports, for a period of ten years which, as it was to happen, exceeded the duration of his own life. He collected this income through agents of his own, without being obliged to render any account of it to the government or the farmers of the customs; but the rates of payment, at least upon the goods brought into England, were fixed by the central authority. The material is not available upon which to base a complete estimate of the value of this concession, but a partial result can be obtained from the figures relating to the tobacco output. For the four years 1637–1640 the average

weight of tobacco sent annually to England from Carlisle's islands was 355,324 lbs.[1] The period includes two fat years and two very lean ones, during which the planters were abandoning tobacco for other staples. It may therefore be taken as furnishing a very roughly approximate average for the seven years 1630–1636, when tobacco was more exclusively grown but the land was not being so fully exploited. The incidence of the duties during this last-mentioned period shows that Carlisle should have collected on this average crop, in English ports alone, close upon £9000 a year.

In the next category of revenue come the internal taxes payable by the planters. In Barbados they had consented during Wolverston's governorship in 1628 to pay 5% of their produce to the proprietor,[2] and there is no evidence that the subsequent revolutions of 1629 had had the effect of modifying the obligation. In St. Christopher and Nevis we hear of no similar tax, and Antigua and Montserrat were, during the first Earl's time, only developed to a very insignificant extent so that, on their account, the point is immaterial. There were, however, other exactions. When Hawley finally seized Barbados in 1629 he is alleged to have levied a poll-tax of 20 lbs. of tobacco a head for the Proprietor and a like sum for the Governor; this is not stated to have been an annual payment,[3] but in after days it became one; for we find that the Assembly in 1641 agreed to pay 'the old rent' of 40 lbs. per head for the Proprietor's rent and the Governor's dues.[4] Simi-

[1] Add. MSS. 35865, f. 248 (abstracts from official figures).

[2] See above, Chap. III. p. 53. [3] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 5b.

[4] Local record noted in *Caribbeana* (1916), vol. iv. p. 367. The tax is there stated to have been £40 per head, which is impossible.

larly, in St. Christopher, a planter who went there in 1630 deposed that there was a yearly levy of 20 lbs. per head to the Proprietor, 20 lbs. to the Governor, 10 lbs. to the Church, 20 lbs. to the Captain of the Train Bands, and 40 lbs. to maintain guards against Carib attacks for six years.[1] In 1634 Governor Hawley at Barbados introduced new regulations for the granting of land, fixing dues payable to the Earl, the Governor, and the clergy, which were probably similar to those above specified for St. Christopher.[2] At the same time he imposed an anchoring-due of £1 on all foreign ships and an additional charge of 7% upon the goods landed from them.[3] The general impression arising from this evidence—which, however, was from the mouths of planters hostile to the proprietorship—is that taxation was arbitrarily levied and varied, with an unjust manipulation of values rendered possible by the fact that payments were made in kind and not in cash.

A third source of revenue, merging with the above, arose from the disposal of land. At St. Christopher the greater part of the valuable land seems to have been occupied before Carlisle's authority was established, and we are only told that the existing planters were compelled to take out new leases from the Earl, without any information on the terms.[4] Also we learn vaguely that in 1628 Mole and Havercamp, the Commissioners, demanded 'one-fifth of the country.'[5] In the other Leeward Islands, particularly Antigua, it was not so easy to attract settlers, and we may imagine that the conditions were made less

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 8.
[2] *Memoirs*, p. 18.
[3] *Memoirs*, p. 18.
[4] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 4.
[5] *Ibid.*, f. 9.

onerous. In Barbados only a small fraction of the land had been taken up by the close of 1629, and the Earl had a large demesne to dispose of. The *Memoirs* give figures showing that in the ten years 1629–38 there were grants totalling 67,389 acres to 707 persons, an average of just under 100 acres each.[1] The earliest available specimen of such a grant is of date 1639. It is a confirmation to the tenant of a holding of 50 acres for an annual rent of 20 lbs. of clean cotton, or its value, for each person above the age of fourteen residing upon the premises.[2] It seems arguable that this must have been a standard rent, as otherwise it would have been open to the tenant to evade payment by lodging some of his servants upon a neighbour's premises not thus burdened. Whether the Earl himself exploited much of the land remaining in his hands we do not know. The only evidence upon the point is that concerning the planting of twenty men in 1628.[3]

Finally, the Earl of Carlisle secured another large income which arose indirectly out of his interest in the Caribbees, although its payment was a burden falling upon the English taxpayer and not on the colonist. In April, 1632, anticipating by six years the expiration of his customs privilege, he petitioned for a grant of the tobacco duties of his islands without limitation of time. This he failed to

[1] There must have been a great deal of sub-letting, for we know from other sources that the average holding was much smaller than this. See below, Chap. VII. p. 157.

[2] Local record printed in G. H. Hawtayne's *Records of Old Barbados*, in *Timehri*, vol. x. p. 97. The 20 lbs. of cotton may have been the equivalent of the 40 lbs. of tobacco mentioned earlier, or it may have been paid in addition to that impost.

[3] See above, Chap. III. p. 52.

secure, but he received instead an annual pension of £3000 for twenty-one years to be drawn from the duties on any tobacco passing through the English custom-houses, or, in default, from the great custom on merchandise in general.[1] The pension was to begin at once and so, as the tobacco duties from the Caribbees were already going into the Earl's pocket, the new perquisite was a levy upon the proceeds of trade with other colonies.

The services rendered by the Proprietor to the colonists in return for all these emoluments consisted in the appointment of governors, tax-collectors, clergy and other officials through whom the administration was maintained; the expenditure of certain sums upon guns and munitions, and the erection of fortifications;[2] and the maintenance of *liaison* between the settlements and the English government. The question of naval defence against European enemies did not arise after 1629; but had it done so, it seems likely that the proprietor would have looked to the central authority to provide a squadron. Military defence against French aggression at St. Christopher was undertaken by the planters themselves without the assistance of a regular garrison. The other Leeward Islands suffered from Carib raids, for the interception of which a small flotilla of armed craft would have proved useful; but we hear nothing of any such service being organized. On the whole it looks as though the balance of advantage as between rights and duties must have been very heavily in favour of the Earl.

[1] Patent Roll, 8 Charles I, pt. 5, No. 25, 18th April, 1632.

[2] The colonists, however, claimed to have borne the chief part of the expenses of fortification. See evidence of six witnesses in Trin. Coll., Dublin, MSS., G. 4, 15, p. 77, etc.

The island governments during this period remained unrepresentative. The Proprietor appointed the Governor, furnishing him with a commission to exercise extensive powers.[1] The Governor nominated a Council in the island, taking care to choose men who would support him effectively.[2] And, although the patent pays lip-service to the principle of legislation with the consent of the inhabitants, it seems not to have been put into practice except on rare occasions, such as at Barbados in 1628, when the authorities felt safe in calling a primary assembly for the purpose of dragooning it into accepting their decisions. Of an elected Assembly we find no mention anywhere until 1639. The Governor and his nominated Council thus remained the only executive, judicial and legislative authority. And since many of their proceedings were unpopular, and they had no independent military force at their disposal, the success of their rule depended upon their personal ability and mastery of men. In such a position they naturally took advantage of their power to push their own fortunes, and the resultant state of affairs was that a large and discontented majority paid sullen obedience to a small ruling clique, ever on the watch to anticipate resistance by harsh measures. Strafford's 'Thorough' was very clearly in action at Barbados and St. Christopher before its name had been heard in Ireland. Details supporting these general observations will appear in the story of the events of these years in the two principal islands.

[1] See description of Warner's Commission, p. 71 above.

[2] In 1630 Warner's Council at St. Christopher numbered 10 persons.—*Col. Calendar*, p. 115. The *Memoirs* frequently mention Hawley's Councils at Barbados as chosen by himself.

Before sending out Hawley as Deputy-Governor to recapture Barbados in 1629 the Earl had already designated another person as Governor. This was Sir William Tufton, who on 25th May received a commission to fill that office for four years.[1] Tufton had £1500 which he was ready to invest in the island, which may have been the chief reason for his appointment. He appeared at Barbados in September,[2] shortly after Hawley had moved on to St. Christopher. He immediately gave offence to the leading planters by protesting against their cruelty towards indentured servants and by threatening to remove servants from bad masters. Conspiracies against him were formed without delay, as we learn from a letter written within a month of his arrival.[3] His enemies intercepted his correspondence, wrote scandalous statements about him to the Earl, and under the leadership of Richard Pierce, Hawley's brother-in-law, raised a mutiny and attempted to depose him. Tufton brought Pierce and others to trial and sentenced them to death, but afterwards reprieved them and sent them to England.

In spite of these troubles he managed to effect some reforms. He held a court which made large grants of land and confirmed existing ones, and carried out some legislation with the advice of his Council. Also he divided the island into six parishes, built churches, and established vestries

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, these particulars concerning Tufton are drawn from a paper written by the Secretary Lord Dorchester, C.O. 1/5, No. 101.

[2] The *Memoirs*, p. 13, say December, which, in view of other evidence, cannot be correct.

[3] 12th Oct., 1629.—C.O. 1/5, No. 29.

having power to appoint and dismiss the clergy and arrange for their stipends.[1]

Tufton's fall was not long delayed. He was well-intentioned, but lacked the gift of knowing when to strike and when to dissemble. The glimpse we have of his character and fate is strongly reminiscent of the Protector Somerset, who likewise befriended the oppressed and was struck down by their masters. The news coming home from Barbados convinced the Earl that he had made a mistake in the appointment. Captain Henry Hawley had, with his usual ability, obtained release from Spanish imprisonment instead of being kept as one of the hostages for St. Christopher, and on 15th March, 1630, Carlisle commissioned him as Governor of Barbados. Hawley arrived in June and, uncertain where the sympathies of the islanders would lie, produced first an authority to hold a free election for the governorship. Tufton agreed, and was chosen. Then Hawley showed his own commission, to which Tufton likewise submitted, vacating office without demur, and carrying on his private activity as a planter. The years 1630–1 were a period of scarcity, remembered as the Starving Time. In the spring of 1631 a ship arrived from England with supplies which were badly needed, and Hawley forbade the distribution of any goods except to those who had received his licence to purchase. Tufton came to him with thirty followers to petition for the re-

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 13, also letter of Thos. Lane, a minister, to Archbp. Laud, 6th Oct., 1637, in C.O. 1/9, No. 70. Lane complains of scanty pay and subjection to the laity composing the vestry. This Thomas Lane may be identical with the parson Kentlane mentioned in the *Memoirs* in 1628. Most of the inaccuracies in the *Memoirs* have the appearance of being due to faulty transcription of difficult manuscripts.

moval of the restriction. The Governor treated this as sedition, seized Tufton and his people, and brought them to trial before the Council, acting in the manner of a court-martial. Sir William Tufton and six more were condemned to death; three of them escaped by lot; and Tufton was shot and three others hanged.[1] A witness of these events, recounting them long afterwards, put the matter concisely: 'Tufton shot to death, Hutter and Carter laid in Irons, Hutter almost starved, Wyburne burnte in the face & imprisoned; for petitioning.'

The general opinion at the time and later was that Tufton 'had severe measure.' The writer of the *Memoirs* records it as a judgment upon Hawley that he fell downstairs in a tavern and broke his ribs, and so died. But since this fate befell him more than forty years afterwards, it is some test of faith to trace the connection.

Hawley remained Governor until after the death of the first Earl of Carlisle. He went home in April, 1633, leaving Richard Pierce as his deputy. Pierce had to cope with a mutiny at the close of the year, bringing several persons to trial by court-martial, and executing two.[2] Hawley was back at his post in April, 1634, but in 1635–6 he was again in England, being there when the Earl died. Pierce acted for him as on the previous occasion. The methods of the two men were similar: they relied upon terror to maintain an ascendancy which the majority considered oppressive. A long list of witnesses came forward in 1647 to testify to arbitrary taxation, restraint of planting, and arbitrary imposition of fees, fines

[1] Rawl., C. 94, f. 5b; *Memoirs*, pp. 16-17; C.O., *ut supra*. There are slight discrepancies of detail.

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 17.

and oaths, enforced by such punishments as imprisonment, whipping, pillorying, 'stigmatizing' [*i.e.* branding], cutting off of ears, and death.[1] Much, but not all, of this evidence refers to the period 1630–6. It depicts a state of affairs which arose naturally from the circumstances where an absentee authority was making undue profits out of subjects denied outlet of representative institutions for the expression of their grievances.

Concerning St. Christopher we have evidence less vivid in character, but tending to show that essentially similar conditions prevailed. Sir Thomas Warner was a man of higher position and prestige than Hawley, and the presence of the French in the island must have acted as a restraint upon the expression of disaffection among the more responsible inhabitants. Nevertheless disaffection existed, and came sometimes to the surface. In 1630 Warner's Council was called upon to investigate seditious speeches.[2] In 1633–4 he ordered that no tobacco should be planted, and that the settlers should devote themselves to cotton instead. Nevertheless at the close of the season he exacted increased duties, to be payable only in tobacco: 'it was to make the Earl the absolute Governor: and they that planted not, yet they paid the dutie.'[3] The various taxes levied have already been specified; and the Marshal was ordered to destroy the houses of those who failed in payment. At a somewhat later period Warner hanged a man 'for defaming Colonel Jefferson.' This provoked a rising of 1500 persons, and Warner was obliged to call in the French to his assistance. Other miscellaneous evi-

[1] Trin. Coll. MSS., G. 4, 15, ff. 77-9; also Rawl. MSS., C. 94, *passim*.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, p. 115. [3] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 8.

dence exists to show that the proprietary regime was oppressive and was only maintained in face of resistance and mutinies.[1] As in the case of Barbados, we must discount some of this testimony as proceeding from interested parties; but there remains a residue which cannot be explained away, and the general impression left of the life of the smaller planter is an unhappy one. No doubt the faults of temper displayed on either side were largely due to the climate. Food was often scarce and unsuitable, temperance was a virtue practised only under force of circumstance, and field labour pursued under a tropical sun rendered life uncertain and excesses of all kinds tempting. Ministers of religion were shocked by the callous brutality and godless vices of the islanders in these early days.[2]

With the French Warner remained on reasonably good terms, although, as population recovered after the blow of 1629, there were inevitable disagreements concerning encroachments. The chief bone of contention was the boundary at Sandy Point, and on one occasion d'Esnambuc, failing to secure satisfaction, declared war and prepared to loose his negroes on the English plantations. This

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, ff. 8b, 9.

[2] See Edmund Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1802 edn., vol. i. p. 371, for experiences of Nicholas Leverton. The correspondence of other clergymen is also despondent. For an unflattering picture of colonial morals and indolence see also a letter of Sir Henry Colt, 13th Aug., 1631, in Cambridge Univ. Libr. MSS., Mm. iii. 9, a copy of which is in the Papers of the late N. Darnell Davis in the Library of the Royal Colonial Institute. The Davis Papers (Box 1) also contain a transcript of a letter by Thomas Verney from Barbados, 10th Feb., 1639, stating that drunkenness is so rife that people are commonly to be seen lying senseless on the roads, and are often maimed or even killed by land crabs.

threat to their women-folk caused the English to submit, and a new agreement was signed. Du Tertre is the authority for this story,[1] for which he gives no date, and which has left no trace in the English records. The latter mention no treaty between 1629 and 1637, when Warner and Pierre du Halde ratified the old boundaries.[2] D'Esnambuc himself died at the close of 1636.[3]

The date of the colonization of Antigua and Montserrat by the English is a matter of some obscurity. The traditional date for both is 1632, but it is unsupported by documentary evidence. Dr. V. L. Oliver, the historian of Antigua, thinks that there was probably no official administration of that island until 1635, in support of which he quotes a local record of later date referring to 1638 as being 'the fourth year of that Colony.'[4] Montserrat, on the other hand, he considers may have been inhabited as early as 1628. Against this, however, we have to place the negative evidence of Jan de Laet, a well-informed Dutch writer whose edition of 1633 represents both Antigua and Montserrat as uncolonized, although he records the occupation of Nevis in 1628.[5] Both islands were certainly recognized colonies by 1636. In that year Captain Anthony Brisket, the Governor of Montserrat, was in England moving for a new commission, having been first appointed by the lately deceased Earl of Carlisle. He was recruiting more planters and preparing to erect a stone church. Brisket was an Irishman,

[1] Vol i. pp. 61-3.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 10b.

[3] Du Tertre, p. 119.

[4] *Hist. of Antigua*, London, 1894, vol. i. p. xviii.

[5] *Novus Orbis*, Amsterdam, 1633, pp. 23-7.

and Montserrat was largely an Irish colony.[1] The first Governor of Antigua is said to have been Edward Warner, concerning whom a local legend relates that Carib raiders captured his wife and took her off to another island, that he pursued and recovered her, but that the incident preyed upon his mind and caused his early death.[2] By more reliable evidence we know that Major Henry Huncks went to Antigua, as to an established colony, in 1639, on being denied admission to Barbados. A record of 9th February, 1638, also shows Antigua to have been settled for some time, since it concerns the death of a planter there possessed of 'goods, chattells, rights, credites, servants, and other things.'[3] Sir Thomas Warner, writing in September, 1636, refers to the smaller colonies as being yet weakly, but trusts that in a few years they will be able to help in planting others.[4]

In 1635 the French made a beginning, to the accompaniment of great hardships and misery, of colonizing Martinique and Guadeloupe.

(ii) *The Colonial Policy of the English Government*

The home government made its influence felt in the Caribbees, during the first period of proprietary rule, chiefly in the sphere of trade regulation and the adjustment of the duties which it was the Earl of Carlisle's privilege to collect for his own use.

[1] C.O. 1/9, No. 23.

[2] *Antigua and the Antiguans*, anon., London, 1844, vol. i. pp. 9-15.

[3] Southampton, Book of Examinations, etc., 1622-43, leaf not numbered, but entry dated Feb. 9, 14, Car. I.

[4] C.O. 1/9, No. 21.

Before West Indian colonization had commenced, a policy had been laid down and certain ordinances had been framed to control and encourage the production of tobacco in Virginia. The policy had two aspects : it favoured the colonial planter by prohibiting the cultivation of tobacco in England and Ireland ; and it favoured the merchant carrying on business in England by seeking to force the colonist to export his crop solely to the mother-country, whence it was to be redistributed to foreign European markets. Here we have in effect the navigation and mercantile policy of the Restoration and the eighteenth century, and the conscious initiation of that policy has therefore been ascribed to James I and Charles I. But this is to some extent a mistake. Their motive was not so much to foster English shipping and a self-sufficing system of empire trade, as to facilitate the collection of revenue. It must not be forgotten that the customs in the early Stuart period were farmed to concessionaires. These persons had a financial motive for attracting as much business as possible to English ports, since they could levy no toll upon goods sent direct from the colonies to foreign countries ; and it is to their pressure that we must primarily ascribe the ' navigation ' regulations of the period. The same motive has much to do with the suppression of English tobacco-growing. The excise was a device not yet introduced, and there existed no convenient means of raising a revenue from tobacco produced in this country. Therefore home-grown tobacco entailed the impoverishment of the farmers' revenue by diminishing the demand for the imported article. All this is not meant to imply that the more generally-recognized motives had not also their effect. It was the common opinion that the

growing of foodstuffs was, in the national interest, a more suitable occupation for English farmers than the production of a luxury like tobacco. Also in the later regulations of Charles I we may trace a recognition of the principle that the colonial trade ought to be manipulated in the interests of the national shipping and the national accumulation of capital. But these considerations served more often as an excuse than as the real motive power for legislation. Illustrations will be found in the summary of administrative orders which follows.

In 1619 the Privy Council issued orders to the justices of Middlesex to suppress tobacco-planting on ground hitherto used for the production of foodstuffs; and two years later similar orders were sent out to several counties, certain references showing that the holders of the existing monopoly of tobacco importation from Virginia were the prime movers in the affair.[1] In 1625, 1627, 1631, 1634, and at later times, repeated injunctions were sent out for the uprooting of the English tobacco industry, their reiteration showing that it was practised to a considerable extent and was difficult to suppress. Finally, however, it was stamped out, although there was a recrudescence at a later period in the seventeenth century.

The navigation policy appears in a similar series of ordinances, which seem to have been more commonly evaded than enforced. On 24th October, 1621, it was ordered that Virginia was to ship tobacco exclusively to England. In 1624 and 1625 proclamations forbade the import of any but colonial tobacco, and a Privy Council

[1] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. pp. 27, 32, 33, 43, 44. All the other data contained in these paragraphs are, unless otherwise stated, drawn from the same source or from the *Colonial Calendar* for the period.

ruling of the latter year implies that, although Virginia and Bermuda had alone been specified, the new plantation in the Caribbean was also to be recognized as a tobacco colony. Later regulations permitted the import of Spanish or other foreign tobaccos, but subjected them to discriminating duties. In 1625 the former rule concerning Virginia was extended, and all colonies were directed to export their tobacco to England only. Convenience in collecting the duties dictated a further restriction, and in 1628 the Council ordered that the tobacco traffic was all to pass through the London custom house, none being unladen in other ports. This rule was repeated in 1631, and its rescission was contemplated in 1632 in favour of the throwing open of all English ports ; but the monopoly of London was again decided upon, and the records of Privy Council business show that right up to the Civil War the capital remained the sole legal port of entry for tobacco, that is, for the bulk of the colonial trade.

Turning to the question of duties, we find that although the rates were varied from time to time a certain proportion was observed : Virginian and Bermudian tobacco paid at the minimum rate ; that from the English West Indies paid rather more ; and the ' Spanish ' product considerably more still. We may begin with the duties fixed at the opening of Charles I's reign in 1625. They were : custom 3d. and impost 9d. per lb. This was decided mainly with an eye to Virginia and Bermuda : St. Christopher, the only Caribbean colony, had not yet attracted sufficient notice to receive a separate scale ; and the import of all foreign-grown tobacco was at the time prohibited. In 1631 a new schedule fixed the duties for Virginia and Bermuda at 3d. custom and 6d. impost ; for the Caribbees,

3d. and 9d. respectively ; and for Spanish tobacco 2s. per lb. Increasing production and a fall in price rendered revision necessary a year later, and so in 1632 Virginia and Bermuda paid 2d. custom and 2d. impost ; the Caribbees 3d. and 3d. ; and the foreign producers 1s. 10d. and 2s. for leaf and roll tobacco respectively. In addition it was provided that alien merchants bringing in tobacco from any source were to pay 25% extra on the above rates. This is the first discrimination against the foreign merchant, affecting chiefly the Dutch carriers, although the foreign producer had been penalised from the outset. There appears to have been no subsequent change in the duties until the Civil War : but in 1636 a royal letter to Virginia, of which copies may have been sent to the other colonies, contained a prohibition of the shipping of tobacco by aliens, ' it tending much to the increase of our Shipping and Mariners.' [1] Here we have the genuine navigation policy avowed.

The reasons for the difference between the Virginian and Caribbean duties were mixed. Virginia and Bermuda persistently claimed a privileged position as against later colonies, and some weight was no doubt accorded to their representations. In the Caribbees the cost of production was probably lower, or the quality higher, owing to difference of climate, so that a heavier duty was thought to be a fair handicap. The Earl of Carlisle also, as the recipient of the Caribbean duties, would naturally wish to see them fixed as high as the trade would bear, and he was usually successful in pressing his views upon the government. In this matter his interest was identical with that of the capitalists who paid a fixed sum for the farm of

[1] C.O. 1/9, No. 20.

the customs in general, whilst the fact that he was a member of the Privy Council no doubt added vigour to its attempts to enforce the navigation policy of restricting the shipments to English ports.

That policy was by no means smoothly carried out. As early as March, 1623, the Council noticed that the orders to Virginia to ship exclusively to England had been infringed. Five years later the farmers of the customs complained that ships from the colonies were habitually taking cargoes to Holland without paying English duties. The remedies ultimately adopted were twofold: the exaction of bonds from colonial shippers for compliance with the regulations, and the establishment of a naval patrol in the Channel to supervise the movements of incoming vessels. An instance of the former is mentioned in 1634, the cautionary sum having evidently not been fixed sufficiently high, for it is reported of a ship from Barbados that her captain is minded 'notwithstanding his bond' to go to Holland.[1] At about the same date we hear of another shipmaster from Barbados entering into a recognizance in £2000 to carry all his goods to London.[2] In 1634, also, the Council informed Sir Thomas Warner that he would be held answerable for carrying out this policy at St. Christopher. The navy became active in the matter after April, 1632, when the Privy Council addressed an open warrant to the Admiralty, requiring help in enforcing the regulations. From then onwards for several years we hear of warships cruising in the Channel, meeting ships homeward bound from the colonies, and putting men on board them to ensure that they should

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10*th Report*, pt. iv. pp. 284-5.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 292.

be brought into London and not taken to the Low Countries. Zealous naval officers treated even Dutch vessels in this manner when freighted by Englishmen, with the tacit approval of the English government.[1] Nevertheless, even at this early stage, there were persistent efforts by the planters to resist the stapling of the colonial trade in England, and they developed a system of smuggling to the Continent by transhipment to coasting craft in the ports of southern and western Ireland.[2]

Of political interference by the home government in the internal affairs of the Caribbee Islands we find very little trace during the proprietorship of the first Earl of Carlisle. The royal administration was quite content to wash its hands of these colonies so long as the Proprietor could control them without invoking its assistance. The Earl himself, unlike the rulers of New England, was in sympathy with the government on political and religious questions; and even the appointment of Archbishop Laud in 1634 to preside over a Committee for Plantations[3] led to no encroachment upon his prerogatives. To sum up, we may say that during this period the Proprietor remained in full control of the islands, whilst he worked hand in hand with the government in a partially successful attempt to confine their trade to channels which would operate to the benefit of himself and the merchants of

[1] See journal of the cruise of H.M.S. *Charles*, in H.M.C. *ut supra*; also *Domestic Calendars, passim.*

[2] Mr. P. W. Day, in his thesis on *The first Settlement of the Maritime Nations in the Spanish Antilles*, 1916 (Library of London University) quotes a considerable amount of evidence from the records of the Admiralty Court in support of this statement (p. 204).

[3] *Col. Cal.*, p. 177, 28th April, 1634.

London. This resulted in a partial application of the principles afterwards embodied in the navigation code of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. But the problem of trade control was not fully worked out, there remained large loopholes for evasion, and the authority of existing regulations was weakened by the fact that they were expressed in administrative ordinances based on the royal prerogative and not in Acts of Parliament.

VI

THE LOSS OF PROPRIETARY RIGHTS, 1636-1660

(i) *Quarrels among the Successors of the first Earl of Carlisle*, 1636–42

THE first Earl of Carlisle died on 25th April, 1636,[1] and from that event we may date the gradual decay and extinction of the extensive rights granted to him and his heirs over the Caribbee Islands. Although possessed of enormous property and income, he owed heavy debts to a large number of creditors—more than eighty came forward a few years later—and he had kept some of these persons waiting for their money for over twelve years,[2] whilst spending lavishly upon himself all that time. During the month before his death he took steps ostensibly devised for their satisfaction. On 31st March, 1636, he made over by an indenture his right of collecting the Caribbean duties, his pension of £3000 secured on the English customs, and a sum of £21,000 owing to him from the Treasury, to three trustees, Sir James Hay, Archibald Hay, and Richard Hurst. Similarly, on 4th April he transferred to the same persons all his proprietary rights

[1] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I., C. 106/60 (1).

[2] *Ibid.*, Ser. II. 408/45 (2), in which two tradesmen claimed for goods supplied to the Earl as Master of the Robes to James I.

over the Caribbee Islands, a large amount of landed property in England and Ireland, and other effects of value such as an Irish wine monopoly. He also at some date not specified conveyed less substantial property to his wife Lucy, his son James, and three other persons, Thomas Paramore, John van Haesdonck and Thomas Alsopp, who appear to have been his agents for various kinds of business.[1] The latter series of transfers did not prove of great subsequent importance, but the former, the conveyance to the three first-named trustees of the great bulk of the property, including all the Caribbean interests, was the pivot upon which the affairs of the islands turned for some years to come. It was distinctly stated as a condition of the trust that the trustees were to satisfy the Earl's creditors, and afterwards to hand over all the residue of the property to his son, the second Earl, who in 1636 was not legally of age ;[2] in the meantine they were to administer the estate at their own discretion. The Hays were of course the Earl's kinsmen. Richard Hurst died shortly after becoming a trustee, having perhaps been introduced merely as a makeweight from the outset.

Having thus divested himself of nearly all his property, the first Earl died intestate, leaving money and movables

[1] These conveyances are fully set forth in the two sets of Chancery documents above cited.

[2] The first Earl was twice married, in 1607 and 1617. The date of his first wife's death is unknown. The second Earl is described in the Chancery documents as being 'yet a child,' *i.e.* under twenty-one, which makes it appear probable that he was the child of the second marriage. Clarendon, however, in *Hist. of the Rebellion*, i. 133, states that he was born of the first marriage, in which case he could not have been much under twenty-one in 1636. All the circumstances give the impression that he was quite old enough to manage his own affairs.

to the value of about £5000, of which his only son, the new Earl, possessed himself.[1] Clarendon's statement that the first Earl died without leaving a house or an acre by which to be remembered is thus literally true, although highly misleading in its implication. The sums owing to the eighty merchants and tradesmen who afterwards grouped themselves under the leadership of one William Latham amounted to £25,000.[2] But there was another group consisting of Carlisle's old servants, who proceeded independently;[3] and the largest debt of all, about £50,000,[4] was owing to persons of the Earl's own rank in life, amongst whom the trustees were claimants to a considerable amount. Whether the dying man honestly intended by the above arrangements to satisfy all those who had claims upon him, or whether he meant to benefit his son and his kinsmen to the exclusion of the others, seems hard to determine. But the latter was what actually happened, and the general body of creditors received not a penny until after the Restoration, when a tardy reparation was at length decreed to them or their heirs out of the revenues of the Caribbee Islands.

The trustees—that is to say, for effective purposes, Sir James Hay and Archibald Hay—at once took in hand the administration of the islands, although they found themselves ere long in difficulties. Captain Hawley had been some time in England when the Earl died. He lost no time in getting his commission renewed and sailing to resume his governorship of Barbados, where he

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 50. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] Chanc. Affidavits, Mich. A. & B., 1644, Nos. 51, 197, 223, 298.

[4] Clarendon's *Vindication*, 1747, edn., p. 26.

arrived in July, 1636.[1] He appeared as a supporter of the trustees, although his subsequent proceedings reveal him as ready to play any part which might suit his own interest. Sir Thomas Warner also came home in 1636, and went back to the islands in September, not merely as Governor of St. Christopher but as Lieutenant-General of all the colonies under the patent. Between himself and Hawley there was no love lost, and his authority was repudiated at Barbados, although admitted everywhere else.[2] Dissensions everywhere broke out among the planters, and there was a general disposition to question the rights of the trustees. This trouble was fomented by the young Earl, who was soon complaining that his relatives regarded the Caribbees as their own property and were bent upon defrauding him of his patrimony. He sent emissaries of his own to the islands to work in what he considered to be his interest, with the very natural result that the proprietary hold upon the colonies was permanently weakened.[3]

The events in the islands are reserved for detailed treatment in the next chapter; we are here concerned with the controlling transactions at home. The trustees, finding their authority disputed, appealed to the government for help, with the result that on 9th July, 1637, a Commission was issued to the Earl of Stirling, Sir Robert

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 19.

[2] C.O. 1/9, Nos. 21, 22, Warner's letters of 10th and 15th Sept. from St. Christopher. His appointment as Lieutenant-General is implied in these letters, and is directly recorded in Trin. Coll., Dublin, MSS. G. 4, 15, f. 14, which says he was granted the office by the first Earl and confirmed in it by the second.

[3] These statements rest upon authorities which are fully quoted in subsequent pages.

Heath, Sir John Wolstenholme, and nine other persons, to take special cognizance of the affairs of the Caribbees, on the basis of the existing patents and conveyances.[1] The document refers to and recognizes the patent of 11th April, 1628, and the indenture of 4th April, 1636, and states that, whereas the King is informed that complaints against the Governors of the islands and differences between the inhabitants have been addressed to the trustees, resulting in hindrance to their administration and profit, and prejudice to the progress of the plantations, His Majesty grants full power to the Commissioners to hear all such differences, summon witnesses, and do everything necessary for the assistance of the trustees in performing their trust, paying the debts, and effectively governing the islands. A further clause adds that this is not intended to derogate from the authority of any existing commission for the plantations, meaning, of course, Archibishop Laud's Commission, which had in practice concerned itself very little with the affairs of the West Indies. The authority thus conferred is evidently meant to be exercised in favour of the trustees, nothing being said in recognition of the second Earl's claim to the active proprietorship.

But, as in the previous dispute between Carlisle and Courteen, the royal attitude was not consistent, and the King was characteristically complaisant to the party which had access to his ear at the moment. In November, 1638, the Earl twice petitioned for what amounted to a recognition of his own authority, artfully suggesting a reference to Laud's Commission, and in the following March he secured a royal letter to the officials of the islands

[1] Patent Roll, 13 Charles I, pt. 18, No. 2 on reverse of roll.

enjoining obedience to himself.[1] The trustees, however, as will be shown, proved the abler suitors, and had in the main the best of the argument.

Evidently not hoping for much success through court channels, the Earl opened proceedings in Chancery against the trustees in the summer of 1638. He accused them of greed, maladministration, and non-performance of the trust, and pleaded that his father's conveyance of the Caribbees to them was invalid, since by the terms of the proprietary patent it could only descend to himself.[2] He prayed that they might be compelled to render a full account of their financial dealings, and to hand over the trust for him to carry out. The Hays replied—Hurst being now dead—denying all the charges and accusing the Earl of instigating resistance against them in the islands. They entered into a great deal of recrimination, the upshot of which was that the Earl's real purpose was to avoid payment of his father's debts; and they maintained that the proprietary power was legally theirs.[3] The trial of this case was never finished—as late as February, 1642, it was 'yet undetermined.'[4] In place of a decision there seems to have been the patched-up reconciliation, above referred to, of March 1639. During that and the following year there are documents showing that Carlisle and the trustees were acting in concert to fortify and develop the islands.[5] The implication from this

[1] *Col. Calendar*, pp. 282, 283, and C.O. 1/10, No. 13. The latter says that the differences between the Earl and the trustees are now reconciled, which was only temporarily true.

[2] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I., C. 106/No. 60 (1).

[3] Chanc. Proc., C. 106/No. 60 (2), 24th June, 1638.

[4] Chanc. Proc., C. 51/No. 34.

[5] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. pp. 255, 280; *Col. Calendar*, pp. 294, 295.

and other evidence is that the Earl was now placed upon an equality with the trustees in the matter of control, although he had not attained the sole direction which alone would satisfy him.

The next step is the intrusion of a new personality into the affair, that of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick. Warwick had long been notable for his patronage of attempts to plant colonies on the Amazon, his extensive privateering operations, and his prominent share in the direction of the Providence Company with its settlements on the islands and mainland of the Spanish zone of the Caribbean. He had quite recently bought up the Earl of Pembroke's derelict patent of 1628, and was preparing to colonize Tobago and Trinidad. And now, in 1639, we find him with a finger in the business of the Carlisle Province. The main fact is clear, although the details remain mysterious. On 26th January, 1639, a correspondent writing to the Secretary Windebank upon other matters mentions incidentally that the King understands that the Earl of Carlisle has made an agreement with the Earl of Warwick for the possession of Barbados.[1] There exists also a memorandum written by Sir Joseph Williamson after the Restoration, and referring to the same date, which speaks of the contested rights of Warwick and Carlisle to Barbados, and suggests that Warwick claimed as one of the trustees of the first Earl.[2] This, of course,

[1] *Col. Calendar*, p. 289. In the Verney Papers also there is a letter from Thomas Verney to Sir Edmund Verney, from Barbados, 10th Feb., 1639, in which the writer refers to a rumour that Warwick has bought the island.—Transcript in Davis Papers, Royal Col. Inst., Box 1.

[2] C.O. 1/1, No. 35.

is incorrect. The truth of the matter seems to be that Warwick, having purchased the Pembroke patent, had purchased for what it was worth the Pembroke-Courteen claim to Barbados. That dispute had been decided in favour of the Carlisle family by the extra-legal tribunal of 1629; but there was just a chance that in the troubled waters into which Charles I's policy had now steered the ship of state an opposition leader like Warwick might be able to bring sufficient pressure to bear to get the judgment reversed.

Meanwhile he had secured a useful adherent in the person of Governor Hawley, who was ready to desert the interest of the trustees and favour that of Warwick. Hawley was again in England at the opening of 1639, but he had left his brother as Deputy-Governor.[1] The latter countenanced a movement by which 'certain persons' sought to tempt away the surplus population of Barbados to other islands granted to them but not to Carlisle.[2] This can only point to Warwick's projects in Tobago and Trinidad or possibly to his interest in Providence. The Earl of Carlisle grew alarmed at the intrigue and obtained a peremptory order from the King that it should be stopped.[3] Henry Hawley, however, considering the trend of English politics, judged that something might still be made of the affair. He was discredited with Carlisle and the trustees and deprived of his governorship, but he managed to secure, by misrepresentation as was alleged, a commission to regulate tobacco-planting in the islands. Armed with this authority he hurried out to Barbados and arrived there before the new legitimate Governor, Major Huncks. Making use of his local influence, he procured the exclusion

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 20. [2] C.O. 1/10, No. 13. [3] *Ibid.*

of Huncks who, in fear for his life, sailed away to take refuge at Antigua. In the course of the dispute Hawley plainly declared to Huncks that the proprietorship belonged to the Earl of Warwick, and also spoke slightingly of the King's authority.[1] The scheme, however, collapsed. The progress of the Parliamentary movement in Great Britain was slower than had evidently been anticipated, and before the middle of 1640 Hawley was on his way home as a prisoner.[2] Warwick dropped the idea of possessing himself of the Caribbees, and when, in 1643, he was appointed head of the Parliamentary Commission for Plantations, his power was ineffective, for the islanders had gone to the length of repudiating the interference of either of the warring parties in the mother-country. The Carlisle proprietorship had thus, in 1638-9, escaped a serious danger. It is just possible that Carlisle himself, disgusted with his subordinate position in the management, had toyed for the moment with the idea of selling his rights to Warwick ; but if that was so, he soon abandoned it. The French were certainly in possession of a rumour in 1639 to the effect that Carlisle had sold the Caribbees to another lord for 400,000 livres.[3]

No sooner had the Warwick-Hawley intrigue been countered than the dispute between Carlisle and the trustees again broke out. On 22nd February, 1640, they addressed a joint petition to the King setting forth that they—this included the Earl—had been left as trustees for the Caribbee Islands. They explained that the Earl

[1] Huncks to Carlisle, 11th July, 1639.—C.O. 1/10, No. 27. The transactions at Barbados are more fully considered in the next chapter.

[2] C.O. 1/10, No. 70.

[3] Du Tertre, vol. i. p. 155.

believed himself entitled to the sole right of government, but that the others conceived themselves to have a claim as well. Since this uncertainty was a hindrance to good administration, they prayed the King to end it by appointing referees to determine the dispute. The King complied by appointing the Lord Chief Justice to confer with other legal authorities and give an opinion on the matter.[1] We have no direct information concerning the decision which followed, but we may infer with certainty that it went against Carlisle from the following circumstance. On 5th December, 1640, he again petitioned the King, showing that the islands had been conveyed to the trustees and that they were still in possession of them, and alleging that he himself was receiving no profits and had no estate to support his dignity. He now prayed for the grant of any interest the King might have in the islands through any legal defect in the conveyance. The King in reply declared that he would be pleased to assist his petitioner, but there the matter seems to have dropped.[2] This move provoked a counter-petition by the trustees, alleging continued molestation by the Earl in their management of the islands.[3]

Still indefatigable, the Earl commenced a new action in Chancery in January, 1642. He brought forward the old plea of the invalidity of his father's conveyance of the proprietary rights, and declared that the trustees had

[1] *Col. Calendar*, p. 308.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 322-3. The only concession actually obtained by Carlisle was a remission of his arrears of the £100 rent payable under the terms of the proprietary patent.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm., 4th Rep.* (H. of L. MSS.), p. 51, 11th Feb., 1641.

received the whole of the income since 1636, a sum sufficient to have paid all the debts and left a surplus. They replied with a statement that the trial of 1638 upon the same subject was still unfinished, and contended that it was a bar to the present proceedings.[1] Their argument may have been successful, for we hear nothing further of the case.

In the meantine the creditors had been receiving nothing from the trustees, and had also grown restive. In 1638 William Latham and another applied to Chancery for the satisfaction of debts going back to the reign of James I.[2] The Hays in reply declared willingness to pay, but said they desired first to satisfy their own claims on the estate. Latham evidently got nothing, but the assembling of the Long Parliament opened a new field of action. Early in 1641 he put himself at the head of a general combination of the creditors and petitioned the House of Lords for redress. They replied by directing the holding of a new trial in Chancery.[3] To Chancery accordingly the creditors again betook themselves, and in August, 1641, they at length obtained decrees for substantial payments in their favour, against the Earl and the trustees jointly.[4] But to compel the defendants to disgorge was another matter ; they held out for several months, and in the following year the outbreak of hostilities between King and Parliament put an end to present hopes of pinning them. Carlisle joined the King. In the latter part of August, 1642, he went to Cambridge

[1] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I., C. 51/No. 34, (1) and (2).
[2] *Ibid.*, Ser. II., 403/No. 45 (3).
[3] *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *4th Rep.*, pp. 51, 67, 96.
[4] Chanc. Affid., Mich. A. &. B., 1644, No. 425.

with a commission of array, which he endeavoured to carry into effect with the assistance of the Bishop of Ely and some members of the University. But the Parliament men captured them all and sent them up to London under guard.[1] The Lords committed Carlisle to the Tower, whence, after a short imprisonment, he appears to have been released. He took some further part in the war, and finally surrendered in 1644.[2] His estates remained under sequestration until 1645. History is silent upon the military exploits of Sir James and Archibald Hay, and we lose sight of them until the latter part of 1644, when the story of the proprietorship enters upon a new phase.

(ii) *The Parliamentary Settlement of the Caribbean Question*, 1643–60

During the first eighteen months of the Civil War the Parliamentary party had little leisure to deal with colonial affairs. But the lull in hostilities occasioned by the second winter of the war gave time to consider the question and provide a mechanism of management. By an ordinance of 2nd November, 1643, Parliament appointed the Earl of Warwick Governor-in-chief of all plantations, assisted by seventeen Commissioners, their number including the Earls of Pembroke and Manchester, Lord Say and Sele, and such prominent commoners as Sir Arthur Hesilrig,

[1] See *A true Relation of the taking of the Earl of Northampton and others*, London, 1642, pp. 3-4 (B.M., C. 115 (14)). Cromwell may have been concerned in the capture of Carlisle, for he is known to have been active at Cambridge in the middle of August.

[2] Notes in Davis Papers, Box 3. Davis states, without quoting his authority, that Carlisle was wounded at Newbury in 1643.

Sir Henry Vane the younger, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, John Pym [1] and Oliver Cromwell.

The policy of Warwick and his Committee with regard to the Caribbees was to proceed with tactful and alluring overtures to tempt the planters to recognize their authority; for at this time the great parliamentary reorganization of the Navy had yet to be carried out, and there was no force available to compel obedience. The islanders were quite well aware of this state of affairs, and their general policy was to take advantage of it in order to secure their own liberation from vexatious restrictions. Their sentiments were predominantly Royalist, but they knew that their material interests would not benefit by the complete triumph of the King, which would probably entail a resuscitation of the relaxing proprietary bonds. Their attitude was therefore one of watchful neutrality, and pending a settlement in England they refused to commit themselves to either party. This applies more particularly to Barbados in the early years: in the Leeward Islands Royalism was stronger, and in Barbados itself it became militant with the arrival of influential refugees at the close of the English struggle.

Warwick's measures are summarized in a parliamentary report drawn up in February, 1647.[2] They tended to ignore the proprietary rights. At the close of 1643 he accorded the planters exemption from taxation other than that necessary for the support of their own government, and a somewhat delusive liberty to choose such Governors as he and his Committee should approve. But when he proceeded to nominate Governors for the

[1] Pym died on 8th December.

[2] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. pp. 51-2.

various islands the inhabitants rejected his choice. Then, as will be shown, the Carlisle interest revived in 1645, and Parliament confirmed the Earl's authority. But in the following year it reverted to the former policy and Warwick sent representatives to go the round of the islands and negotiate for submission direct to the government. They met with so cool a reception at Barbados that they went no farther. The matter then slept until after the execution of the King, when Royalism blazed up in the Caribbees and the Commonwealth retaliated with the Act of October, 1650, prohibiting all trade with the rebels, and with the naval expedition of 1651 which effected a conquest early in the following year. Such is one aspect of the background before which the question of the proprietorship was thrashed out; the other is provided by the fact that London was the mainstay of the Parliamentary party, and that the merchants of London were the chief English participants in Caribbean trade and the absentee owners of many of the plantations. They had also an interest in attacking the patent, but certainly not in promoting the independence of the islands. And it was their view which ultimately prevailed with the Puritan governments.

In the summer of 1644 Carlisle and the trustees were in London or within ken of their London creditors. The Hays, in fact, may never have been far away. Information on their movements is lacking, for the stream of Chancery business, through which we gain touch with them, almost dried up during the first two years of the war, and their case was not proceeded with. But the Michaelmas term of 1644 saw the Court in full working order and the creditors again active. In the interim a

change had taken place in one important respect: we hear of no more quarrels for precedence between the Earl and his kinsmen. The probable reason was that the spoil for which they had been contending was now in danger of being lost to them all. We know that Carlisle's property at least was under sequestration by Parliament on account of his Royalism.[1]

The creditors opened fire in June, 1644, with a revival of their case as it had stood three years previously.[2] In the following January they succeeded in serving the decree granted in the former trial. This was not for a general settlement but for a payment of some £5000 only.[3] This producing no result, the creditors obtained further support from the Court, and we have an undignified picture of the Earl dodging the process-servers by having them misdirected from one address to another by his servants, whilst Archibald Hay was 'credibly reported' to be intending a sudden departure for France.[4] In spite of all these shifts the case went inexorably forward, and in the summer of 1645 the Earl was brought to close quarters with a decision upon his affairs at large pronounced in the November of the previous year. This was to the effect that the revenues of the islands were to be accounted for to a Master of Chancery and to be distributed to the creditors, whilst Carlisle himself was to pay over a sum of nearly £5000 proved to be in his hands.[5]

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 565.

[2] Chanc. Affid., Hilary, 1644, No. 219.

[3] *Ibid.*, Mich. A. & B., 1644, No. 425.

[4] Chanc. Affid., Mich. A. & B., 1644, No. 498 (7th Feb., 1645); and Easter, 1645, No. 11 (22nd April).

[5] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. pp. 49-50, 'Brief state of the case for the creditors.'

Having fought the Chancery proceedings to the last ditch, Carlisle played a new card by appealing to the House of Lords. There the circumstances were in his favour. Warwick's policy of soft words to the West Indian colonists had broken down. They had rejected his overtures and were leaning towards the King. Charles had, in 1645, revived the shadowy pretensions of the Earl of Marlborough, and had him sent out to the Caribbees with a commission as Governor-in-chief. Barbados had indeed refused to take him in, but St. Christopher and Montserrat had admitted him and his subordinates,[1] and there was a danger that his successes might spread. Carlisle had also an intermediary with the Lords in the person of his mother (or step-mother), who was on good terms with the aristocrats of the Puritan party.[2] In these circumstances the Lords extended to him their patronage. In February, 1645, they passed an ordinance for his sequestration to be taken off on payment of a fine of £800, and in September they made the decision unconditional.[3] This, he argued, restored him freely to all his property, and nullified the decree of Chancery ; and the Lords admitted the claim. Subsequently they referred the matter to a committee, which in December, 1649, ordered a compromise in the shape of payment of half the revenues to the creditors ; but nothing was done to enforce it. And in that position the unfortunate creditors remained for many years to come.[4]

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. pp. 565, 578 ; ix. pp. 51, 52.

[2] Clarendon's *Rebellion*, Bk. iv. 14, 78 *n*.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, vol. iii. p. 732 ; iv. p. 47 ; *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. pp. 565, 578.

[4] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. pp. 50, 52 ; S. P. Interregnum, vol. 92, No. 467, some confused jottings without dates, written in 1656—printed *infra* pp. 133-4 ; and *Colonial Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 34.

The main reason for the Lords' patronage of Carlisle is that hinted above—that he and his patent could be used as a blocking motion to Royalist schemes in the Caribbees. So formidable did that danger appear that Warwick's Committee for Plantations abdicated the comprehensive powers they had claimed over the islands, recognized Carlisle's rights, and sent out a declaration to that effect, dated 3rd September, 1645.[1] The Earl himself was at the same time announced to be sending a commission to regulate his revenue, and the planters were enjoined to render him every obedience.

The new policy did not long endure. The islanders, and more particularly the Barbadians, had tasted the sweets of independence. They were in virtual enjoyment of what would now be called responsible government, and they made it plain that nothing short of an armed force would avail to take it from them. The West India merchants of London, for their part, could not see eye to eye with the Puritan peers on the question of proprietary rights. What they desired was that Parliament should assume responsibility for the government of the islands and that it should reward its City adherents by a general conversion of the plantation tenancies into freeholds. The introduction of sugar-planting had made the situation ripe for the consolidation of petty holdings into large estates. The London capitalists had many of the small planters in their pockets. And proprietary rights, equally with colonial self-government, stood in the way of the operation.

The attempt of the ruling statesmen to use Carlisle as a stalking-horse was therefore resisted from two directions,

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 51 ; and vii. p. 578.

and they yielded to the pressure. On 21st March, 1646, Parliament ratified its ordinance of 1643, restored Warwick's Committee to full control, and notified the islands of its decision. Barbados returned an evasive reply, couched in terms of veiled insolence.[1] The Puritan statesmen, absorbed in the mesh of intrigue which sprang up on the defeat of the King, could not take up the challenge, although, as events were to show, they bore it in mind. The patent was once more upon the ground, and the City interest organized to make an end of it.

There followed a complicated game of secret transactions and undeclared purposes, of which we must seek the clue in the general political situation of the time. In the early summer of 1646 the first Civil War had come to an end, and Charles I had surrendered to the Scots, who retired with their prize to Newcastle. During the remainder of the year negotiations for a settlement had been conducted with the result that the Scots were paid off and the King became a prisoner of the English Parliament at Holmby House, which place he reached in February, 1647. The negotiations had disclosed the aims of the Parliamentary leaders. They desired a limited monarchy in which Parliament should nominate the ministers of state and control the armed forces and the Church, the latter should be organized on a Presbyterian basis without toleration of other beliefs, and the extreme Royalists should be proscribed. Charles had no intention of placing himself under such a yoke, but he saw a chance of climbing back to power on the shoulders of the Presbyterian politicians, since they were at least monarchists

[1] Letter signed by Governor Bell and his Council, Oct., 1646, in *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 51.

and not republicans. In the New Model Army, on the other hand, strange views were emerging. Independency, as opposed to Presbyterianism, was the predominant religious opinion ; and the military leaders were ceasing to regard themselves as mere men under authority, and were claiming a voice in a national settlement which was to be very different from that proposed at Westminster. The Parliamentarians became embittered against the Army. In February, 1647, they proposed to disband the greater part of it and send the remainder under new commanders to Ireland. The troops refused compliance, and the deadlock continued until at midsummer, the Presbyterians having advanced some way towards a reconciliation with the King, the Army seized him at Holmby House and carried him off to the camp at Newmarket. It was now the turn of the officers to negotiate with Charles and, like the politicians, they found him determined to have all and yield nothing. At the same time they came to almost open warfare with the leaders of the two Houses, who grew frantic at the thought that their rebellion and their victory were to be turned to distasteful uses by those whom they regarded less as fellow-citizens than as hired servants. Finally, in November, Charles escaped from Hampton Court, where the Army was holding him, to Carisbrooke, the Scots again became interested, and parties ranged themselves for a new Civil War in which many Presbyterians were to fight on the King's side.

These events had their effect upon the fortunes of the Caribbees and the Carlisle patent. For early in 1647, when all civilians were looking to the restoration of a Parliamentary Monarchy, the Earl of Carlisle threw in his lot with Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, a leader of

the anti-military and Presbyterian party, who during the succeeding twelvemonth went through all the experiences of disillusionment above outlined, until in February, 1648, he fled to the Prince of Wales in Holland, a Royalist confessed. Willoughby, born about 1613, was a man in the prime of life and a soldier of experience in the early part of the Civil War. There he had fought as a comrade of Cromwell in the campaigns of the Eastern Association, but he had grown increasingly discontented with the Army since the changes of 1644. The formation of the New Model had given the first intimation that the aristocrats of the rebellion would not have things all their own way at the settlement. By 1647, therefore, Willoughby was for an immediate peace by accommodation with the King, and it is easy to see that Carlisle may have thought he was doing the best for his proprietorship by enlisting as an ally one who would exercise a powerful influence in the new order thus to be established.

On 17th February, 1647, Carlisle executed a deed of demise by which he leased to Willoughby the proprietorship of the Caribbee Islands for a term of twenty-one years from the preceding Michaelmas. Willoughby was to pay a peppercorn rent, and to retain half the gross revenue of the province, the other half going to Carlisle for the ostensible purpose of paying his father's debts, of which a schedule was appended to the deed.[1] There is no mention of any consideration, other than a trifling sum in cash, to be rendered by Willoughby for this handsome concession. Presumably it was to consist in the exercise of his political influence in their joint interest in the expected new order of English affairs. Next day

[1] Trin. Coll., Dublin, MSS. G. 4, 15, ff. 5-13.

Carlisle signed a deed of revocation of all officers in the islands,[1] including Sir Thomas Warner and Governors Bell, Ashton and Lake. They and their subordinates were to be informed that their appointments were cancelled, and that Willoughby, as Carlisle's deputy, was empowered to fill offices at his own discretion. It is to be noted that this was a separate document from the lease, that it contained no reference to that transaction, and that it would be open to Willoughby to act upon the one without revealing the existence of the other. In the deed of revocation Willoughby is described as the ' representative ' and ' the lawful deputy ' of the Earl, not as the part-proprietor. Finally, on 26th February, Carlisle signed a commission for Willoughby to be Lieutenant-General of the Caribbee Islands for the same period as that covered by the lease.[2] Here, again, there is no reference to the lease or to the fact that Willoughby is to enjoy half the revenue. He is merely empowered to receive all the dues, rights and fees appertaining to the office of Lieutenant-General ; to collect—ostensibly for Carlisle—all rents, customs and duties payable to the latter ; and to make grants of land to be held of the Earl. His executive powers are fully detailed, and the Earl makes himself responsible for anything that shall be done under the commission.

Why did Carlisle thus cede half his revenues before the condition under which he might retain the other half had become an accomplished fact ; before, that is to say,

[1] *Ibid.*, ff. 14-18.

[2] *Ibid.*, ff. 19-28 ; and C.O. 29/1, pp. 130-8. Clarendon says that King Charles was congizant of all these transactions, and ratified the appointment of Willoughby.—*Vindication*, in *Tracts*, 1747 edn., p. 26.

the Parliamentary Monarchy had been established? It looks as though he were making a certain sacrifice for a problematical gain.[1] The reason is that an attack was maturing upon the patent itself, and that it was essential to have a friend in Parliament to render that attack nugatory. Also, if the existing condition of affairs continued, the sacrifice was more apparent than real, for the islands were yielding no revenue, and were unlikely to do so until monarchy should be restored. Only in the event of an ultra-Royalist régime, of a complete return to the old order, would the lease be disadvantageous to Carlisle. That, at the moment, seemed highly improbable, although it actually happened in 1660, before the expiration of the lease, and Willoughby's foresight in securing a long term was justified.

The attendant circumstances point very strongly to the conclusion that the transfer of proprietary rights to Willoughby was kept secret until the time became ripe to act upon it. The Lords' and Commons' Journals of 1647 contain several references to the affairs of the Caribbees, but not a word to show that the Houses were aware of Willoughby's new interest. The same may be said of the collections of evidence given at the parliamentary enquiry which we shall have next to consider.[2] In January, 1647, again, Carlisle was pressing for leave to go to the West Indies to take control of his property there, and in March, after the execution of the transfer, he was urging the same

[1] There was, it is true, an afterthought, for on 30th April, 1647, Willoughby ceded back to Carlisle one-fourth of his moiety of the revenues.—T.C.D. MSS., G. 4, 15, f. 29.

[2] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, certainly contains mention of Willoughby's claim in the compiler's prologue, but this was written several years afterwards.

request, the implication being that he was still the active proprietor.[1] We can only regard this as a blind to conceal what was really intended. Finally, in November, 1647, he published a printed proclamation to the planters in his own name as 'Lord of the Caribbee Islands,' manifesting his affection towards the inhabitants of Barbados and all other people under his government, and declaring his intention to visit the islands in person to hear complaints.[2] Again there is no mention of Willoughby, and no hint that the Earl has parted with the proprietorship. But at the foot of the British Museum copy there is a manuscript note: '13th Jan. L^d. Willowby of Parham,' which seems to show that the document was communicated to that person. No amount of negative evidence can be absolutely conclusive, but the probability is worth consideration that secrecy was maintained throughout the year 1647.

We have said that at the time of the transfer an attack upon the patent by the City interest was in preparation. It was launched at the end of February or beginning of March, 1647, in the shape of a petition to the Committee for Foreign Plantations by the merchants and planters of Barbados.[3] The signatures were twenty-nine in number, including the names of well-known London merchants like Maurice Thompson, George Pasfield, William Pennoyer and Martin Noell, the brother-in-law of John Thurloe.

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. viii. p. 664; ix. pp. 49, 53; *Commons' Journals*, vol. v. p. 105.

[2] Printed single sheet, B.M. 669, f. 11 (115).

[3] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 50. The date is given vaguely as 'March,' but the Commons had considered the petition and made an order upon it as early as the 4th of the month.

The petitioners declared that Barbados had been principally planted at their expense and that there was danger of disorder and loss if the government were not settled, and they prayed that the tenure of their lands might be settled in free and common socage. At the same time William Latham and the creditors of Carlisle put in a petition that the control of the islands should be vested in sequestrators appointed by the Court of Chancery.[1] The merchants' petition was also made to the House of Commons, and on 4th March that body resolved that a special committee should consider it, consisting of all the lawyers of the House together with those of its members who were on the Committee for Plantations. The committee was to meet on the following day at Sir Abraham Williams's house in Great Palace Yard.[2]

We have two accounts of the proceedings before this committee. One, in the Bodleian Library, gives a compendium of the evidence submitted, together with the pleadings of the counsel for the petitioners against the Carlisle patent.[3] It contains a prologue which shows that it was compiled, probably after the Restoration, by a supporter of the Courteen claim. The other, in Trinity College Library, Dublin, records the same evidence and gives the speech of the counsel in defence of the patent.[4] This volume seems to have been compiled between 1657 and the Restoration, and by a supporter of the Carlisle

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 49. 2nd March, 1647, is the date assigned by the compiler of the *Journals* to this petition, but it is at least a month too late, for another entry (p. 52) shows that Carlisle answered it on 8th Feb.

[2] *Commons' Journals*, vol. v. p. 105.

[3] Rawlinson MSS., C. 94.

[4] MS., G. 4, 15, f. 165.

proprietorship. The petitioners called a number of witnesses to prove the following points: (1) Barbados was not a Caribbee island in the sense intended in the patent, since it had never been inhabited by Caribs; (2) It was first planted by Sir William Courteen and the Powells,[1] and not by Carlisle; (3) The planters had borne the expense of fortification; (4) Carlisle and his deputies had been guilty of arbitrary and tyrannical government, whereby the lives and property of the planters had been needlessly endangered. Relying upon this evidence, counsel for the petitioners argued that the Earl's patent was in point of creation void and against the law, and that even if it had been originally good the acts of tyranny committed under it gave ground for forfeiture; and he made bold to use words such as none had dared to utter at the trial of 1629: 'The honour of the King shall be preferred before the profit of the King, and it stands not with his honour to grant that which belongs to another.'[2]

Carlisle's lawyer called no witnesses, nor did he attempt to deny the substance of the evidence against him. Instead, he sought to show that even if it were accepted it gave no ground for the forfeiture of the patent. His speech was long and interspersed with references to learned authorities.[3] Its chief points were that English subjects by residing in foreign countries did not escape from their allegiance; that subjects could not conquer heathen lands for themselves, but only for their sovereign,

[1] So the Rawl. MS.; but the T.C.D. MS. puts it 'that Barbados and St. Christopher's were first planted by the inhabitants, and not by the Earl of Carlisle' (f. 165).

[2] Rawl., C. 94, ff. 14, 14b.

[3] T.C.D. MS., *ut supra*, ff. 165-81.

who had thus the right of disposal ; and that in such cases a proclamation or a grant under the Great Seal had the force of law. The law, he contended, regarded infidels as perpetually in a state of war with Christians ; a subject could not have peaceful dealings with the King's enemies ; and therefore—this evidently applied to St. Christopher—even if subjects claimed to have purchased lands from a heathen chief, they were none the less forfeit to the King, who could grant them to whom he pleased. Further—and this would refer to Barbados—no mere occupancy of land could give a subject legal rights against the King ; all such occupiers were trespassers upon the King's possession, for every subject must claim under some deed or grant, or not at all.[1] To the charge of tyranny and misgovernment, he replied that the use of martial law and its methods and punishments was permitted by the Earl's commission as Captain-General, which gave him the status of a military commander ; and no other facts had been alleged but what were covered by the powers granted in the Letters Patent.

Reading through the speeches we can see that the counsel for the petitioners and the counsel for the defence spoke from two different worlds—the former from that of the parliamentary revolution and justice based upon utility, the latter from that of divine right and the royal prerogative. The court, as might be expected from its composition, was more impressed by the petitioners' case. Yet it pronounced no decision and simply dissolved after

[1] Substantially the same doctrine, that the Crown owns all land within its dominions unless a subject can prove legal title, was enforced against the Australian squatters of the nineteenth century. The case of Barbados appears to furnish the first colonial precedent for the raising of the point.

hearing the evidence and the pleadings.[1] Only, we have it on the authority of the compiler of the Bodleian manuscript, the members of the Committee expressed themselves as satisfied with the justice of the Courteen claim, and wondered that no one came forward to represent the interests of that family. Sir William, it will be remembered, had died in 1636. His son, William Courteen, succeeded to a broken fortune and fled overseas from his creditors in 1643. He died at Florence in 1656, leaving a son also named William.[2] In the generous reference of the Committee to the rights of the exiled bankrupt we may perhaps trace the influence of the Earl of Warwick, the purchaser of the Pembroke patent. Similarly, from the lame conclusion whereby no judgment was pronounced we may perhaps deduce the manoeuvres, open or secret, of Lord Willoughby. Of the relations between Willoughby and Warwick at this time we know little save that they belonged to the same side in the main arena of politics. It remains merely a conjecture to see in this trial a duel between them ending in a draw ; but it is a conjecture which fits well with the circumstances.

The position of the proprietorship after the enquiry remained the same as it had been before. The patent was not cancelled, but it was for practical reasons inoperative, since Carlisle had no means of enforcing obedience from the planters ; and he himself lay under an order of the House of Commons made on 4th March that he was not to leave the kingdom without their permission. At the same time the resolution taken by the Committee for Plantations in the previous year, that they should

[1] Rawl. MS., *ut supra*, f. 3. At least six sittings had been held, the last on 9th April, 1647. [2] *D.N.B*

control the Caribbees, held good. Lord Willoughby during 1647 saw his prospects of enjoying the proprietorship, under a monarchy limited by the leaders of the two Houses, grow steadily more remote. The breach between the Army and the Presbyterians widened. A few weeks after the Army had carried off the King from Holmby House its opponents elected Willoughby to the speakership of the House of Lords. On 8th September its backers in Parliament impeached him and other Presbyterian lords.[1] They were sent to the Tower, but were released in January since no definite charge had been formulated against them. A fortnight later Willoughby's enemies revived the impeachment against him. All the circumstances—his dissatisfaction with the democrats of the Army, his West Indian ambitions, and his knowledge that a new war was impending—drove him in the direction of Royalism. He fled to the Netherlands on 6th February, 1648. Clarendon says he had already been strongly recommended to the Prince of Wales by the King.[2] Carlisle remained in England, hoping no doubt for a Royalist victory, but taking no part in the effort to secure it. For a man of thirty, whose family owed everything to the Stuarts and had everything to hope from them, his conduct appears spiritless.

Meanwhile the islands continued in a state of independence. Sir Thomas Warner, an old friend of Warwick's,[3]

[1] Willoughby may fairly be described as a Presbyterian in politics, although there is nothing to indicate that religious convictions had any part in his attitude.

[2] Clarendon's *Vindication*, 1747 edn., p. 26.

[3] See letter from Warwick to Warner, Stowe MSS. 184, f. 126, referring to 'the long continued aquaintance and reciprocall respecte between us.'

kept St. Christopher from any open provocation towards Parliament. Warner died at his post in March, 1649, possibly before the news of the tragedy of Whitehall had reached him, but his successor followed the same line of neutrality. Montserrat and Nevis copied the example of their more powerful neighbour. Of this group it may be said that whilst Parliament exercised no authority in them, it felt that it had a chance of peaceably securing their allegiance. With Barbados and Antigua it was different. The former was waxing fat with sugar profits, forming close bonds with Dutch capitalists, and growing more and more permeated with extreme Royalism. Its population had grown so large that the hotheads may well have considered themselves invincible by any force likely to be sent against them. Antigua was its tributary, developed by the surplus population and enterprise of the Barbadians, many of whom owned estates in both islands. These two were already ripe for open revolt when Lord Willoughby appeared with his proprietorship recognized and his commission countersigned by the exiled Charles II.[1] He landed at Barbados in May, 1650, and proclaimed a Royalist government, afterwards moving on to secure Antigua.

When the news reached England the Commonwealth took retaliatory measures. On 30th August the Committee of the Admiralty resolved to send ships and commissioners to reduce Barbados, and in the meantime to pass a bill through Parliament for the prohibition of trade with that island.[2] A week later the same body directed the Earl of Carlisle to bring in his Letters Patent for con-

[1] Clarendon's *Life*, 1759 edn., p. 491.

[2] *Colonial Calendar*, p. 342.

sideration of what should be done with them, seeing that the proceedings at Barbados were being taken under colour of the proprietary rights. On 27th September the Commons—now the sole House of Parliament—agreed to the first and second readings of an Act for prohibiting trade with Barbados, Antigua, Virginia and Bermuda, and the measure was sent to the Committee of the Navy for expert amendment. On 3rd October, 1650, it passed in its final shape,[1] with a clause empowering the administration to ignore existing Letters Patent in making new arrangements for the government of the colonies.

On the same date orders were given for the preparation of a fleet to visit and subdue the colonies in turn. But there was much delay in the fulfilment of this resolution. In January, 1651, the Council of State was considering the instructions to the commissioners who were to lead the expedition, and it ordered that the recital of Carlisle's patent was to be omitted from the document. On 1st February the commissioners, Sir George Ayscue, Daniel Searle and Michael Pack, were handed their orders, which completely ignored the proprietary rights.[2] The squadron of seven warships was now ready, but its services were diverted to the reduction of the Scilly Isles, a stronghold of the Royalist privateers, and it did not finally sail for the West Indies until after midsummer. Arriving at Barbados in October, Ayscue took three months to reduce the island, which submitted on 11th January, 1652.

The articles of surrender agreed to by Lord Willoughby involved the annulment of the proprietorship and the triumph of the policy advocated throughout by the Lon-

[1] *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. pp. 474, 478.

[2] *Col. Calendar*, pp. 348, 349, 350.

don merchants.[1] The clauses which accomplished this were Nos. 3, 4 and 19, wherein it was laid down that no taxes, customs, impost, loans or excise were to be levied on the inhabitants without their consent in a general Assembly ; that no man was to be deprived of lands or goods without trial by the laws of England and the statutes of the island ; and that the government was to be by a Governor appointed by the state of England, a Council chosen by the Governor, and an Assembly elected by the inhabitants. Other articles guaranteed freedom of trade with all friendly nations, and the restoration of Willoughby to his lands in England, his colony at Surinam, and his private property in Barbados and Antigua. The latter island submitted without resistance, and the same conditions of government were tacitly imposed upon the non-revolting members of the Leeward group.

In this manner the Puritan statesmen spoke their last word upon the Caribbean question, and the Carlisle patent remained suspended until the Restoration. Under the Protectorate a few feeble echoes of the long wrangle may be traced. At some date unknown Carlisle drafted a petition to Cromwell praying for reinstatement.[2] It produced no result, and there is no actual proof that it was presented. A cryptic document of 1656 shows the creditors still indefatigably agitating : [3]

> ' Trustees for ye Earle of Carlisles credrs.
> 40,000 l. debt decreed to be pd out of Barbados agt the now E. Decree confirmed in y^e^ Lo. house. Lo.

[1] The articles are printed in full in *Acts and Statutes of Barbados*, London, 1654, pp. 1-9.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 84-5.

[3] S.P. Interr., vol. 92, No. 467.

Willoughby appointed his L^t. Genll. in trust for payment of his debts. He setled a revenue for y^t end. Articles at ye rendition, conf. by Plemt Aug. 52. pet to y^e Comrs for releife on articles. Much debate. The Com^rs. proceedings staid. pray they may proceed to judgmt or y^t his H. will give other order for their releife. 22 Jan. The whole buisiness to be ref to Com^t of Tresy to examine & rep to y^e Counsel.'

The commissioners referred to may possibly be the Commissioners in Bankruptcy before whom there were certainly some proceedings being heard with regard to Barbados early in 1657. They produced a few pieces of evidence about the early history of the island, notably the depositions of Captain Henry Powell,[1] but the clue to their purport has been lost. The bankruptcy may have been that of Carlisle. In any case the creditors remained unsatisfied and the patent unrevived.

[1] Repeated in 1660 under the heading : ' Henry Powel deposed before the Commissioners of Bankruptcy on Feb. 25, 1656.'—C.O. 1/14, No. 37.

VII

THE DECAY OF PROPRIETARY AUTHORITY, 1636-1649

(i) *The Islands under the Trustees*, 1636–42

BARBADOS continued after the death of the first Earl of Carlisle to be ruled by Captain Henry Hawley, who had his commission renewed by the trustees. It appears, indeed, that the Earl had granted him the governorship for a term of years which had not expired in 1639–40.[1] Hawley, according to the witnesses at the enquiry of 1647, maintained the same tyrannous and grasping methods of administration as we have already described. One Peter Strong testified, 'In 1636 : 37 : 39 : 40 : 41 : I was compulsively exacted by Hawley,'[2] and there is other evidence to the same effect.

The young Earl of Carlisle, in the course of his struggle with the trustees for control, took the rather unwise course of instigating resistance against them among the planters. In their pleading in the Chancery case of 1638 the trustees asserted that the Earl had sent over Captain Henry Huncks, who had displaced Governors, sentenced several persons to death, and confiscated their estates :

[1] Statement of his wife, C.O. 1/10, No. 42.

[2] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, f. 10b; also ff. 11-12. But Hawley was not Governor in 1641.

'And the said Captaine Huncks, as these defendants have heard and verily beleeve, hath openly professed and avouched that hee was sent thither by the Complainant [*i.e.* Carlisle] of purpose to crosse these defendants.'[1] This would seem to indicate a tour through the islands by Huncks in 1637–8. No other authority mentions his presence in the Caribbees before 1639,[2] and the statements may be exaggerated, although they can hardly be devoid of some basis of truth. The date of the document in which they occur is 24th June, 1638.

The *Memoirs of Barbados* are silent about any extraordinary transactions having taken place at this time. They merely record extensive land grants by Hawley in the years 1636–7—237 grants in all—and an abrupt cessation of the process in 1638, when only one grant of 50 acres was made. Other evidence, positive and negative, tends to show that the occupation of all the useful land was completed at this date, and the *Memoirs* wind up their record with a list of 766 holders of 10 acres or more apiece.[3]

Hawley, as has been shown in the previous chapter, went home at the close of 1638, involved himself in the intrigue by which the Earl of Warwick sought to insinuate himself into the management of the Caribbees, and lost his Governor's commission in consequence. Before leaving Barbados he had installed as Deputy-Governor his brother William, who had connived at the drawing-off

[1] Chanc. Proc., Ch. I., C. 106/No. 60 (2).

[2] Except that John Hilton gives his name, without date, as Governor of Nevis in succession to Thomas Spurrow. This may have been in 1637-8, and was certainly not later than those years. —Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 503-7.

[3] Pp. 20 and 70-84, in which all the names are given.

of the surplus population to Warwick's other islands. It was evidently the news of this movement which opened the eyes of the trustees to the Hawleys' true intentions.[1] While the trustees and the Earl of Carlisle, temporarily reconciled, were deliberating upon the choice of a new Governor, Henry Hawley snatched at the chance of obtaining from the English government the authority of which his old employers had deprived him. That chance was afforded by the state of the tobacco trade and the measures which were in contemplation for its control.

Ever since the establishment of the Caribbean colonies, followed by that of Maryland in 1634, the growth of the demand for tobacco had failed to keep pace with that of the supply, and the price had fallen to a level which threatened disaster to all the plantations alike. The remedy enjoined by the home government was that of developing a trade in other staple crops. The Caribbean islands made some slight attempt to do this, but Virginia and Bermuda, the pioneer tobacco colonies, were either unable or unwilling to adopt any alternative to the trade by which their prosperity had been established. By 1636 the crisis had become acute, and on 4th August the King made it the subject of a despatch to the Governor of Virginia. Expressing his concern at the excessive production of tobacco throughout the colonies, His Majesty continues :

> 'And wee being geven to understand that at S^t^. Xphers, Mevis and Barbados, the inhabitants finding by experience how incommodious it was to plant so much Tobacco, of theyr owne accorde, for

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 20, and C.O. 1/10, No. 13.

some years have intermitted the planting therof, and imployed themselves in Cotton woolls, which prosper well and yeald the planters good profitt for theyr labours: which course hathe brought the price of tobacco from 2^{d} the li. to 8^{d} or more, cleare of all charges.'

This being a worthy example (although largely a fictitious one), Virginia is urged to follow it, and is further enjoined to ship all its tobacco to London and in English bottoms.[1]

Early in the next year the King wrote a still stronger letter to the Virginians, reiterating the former instructions and again quoting the laudable example of the Caribbean colonists. But the very next document in the volume of colonial papers is a royal reprimand to the trustees for the Carlisle islands for allowing the inhabitants to overproduce tobacco to the neglect of cotton and other useful commodities ![2] The Trustees were ordered to send to the several Governors a transcript of the King's letter with a command for the immediate planting of other commodities. The playing-off of the West Indians against the Virginians provides an amusing example of the incapacity of Charles and his advisers to learn the commonplace facts upon which their administration ought to have been based ; for it was a usual practice for merchantmen to visit the Caribbees and pass on to Virginia, and the royal disapproval of the Caribbean planters must have been known in Virginia very shortly after the Virginians had been commanded to imitate the good conduct of their southern brethren.

The King's exhortations produced little or no improvement in the price of tobacco. The Virginians replied in

[1] C.O. 1/9, No. 20. [2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 47 and 48.

March, 1638, that they were resolving to reform abuses in the trade, but complained that far greater quantities came from the Caribbees, 'whence the like conformity should be gotten.'[1] This statement was grossly untrue, as is shown by the statistics of tobacco entries into the port of London. In 1637 and 1638 together the amount sent from Virginia was 3,429,261 lb., and from the Caribbees, 1,074,730 lb.[2] However, the Government set itself to devise stronger measures than mere remonstrance, and for this purpose established a committee of capitalists, merchants and planters to deliberate upon quantities, quality and prices in the tobacco trade.[3] A number of measures ensued, presumably upon the findings of the committee. In 1638-9 there was a fresh campaign against tobacco-planting in England, which produced riots in Gloucestershire, and the policy was confirmed of making London the sole port of entry. But something more was necessary, and on 17th March, 1639, a warrant was drafted for an officer to go the round of the plantations, enquire into excessive output, and treat with the several Governors for a limitation and a regulation of prices.[4]

It was at this point that Henry Hawley again came forward, for it was he, under the designation of Lieutenant-General and Governor of Barbados, who was the officer named in the warrant.[5] Carlisle and the trustees had just dismissed him but, no doubt by showing his commission from the first Earl, he was able to impose himself upon the King's officials as the genuine Governor

[1] *Colonial Calendar*, p. 266.
[2] Add. MSS. 35865, f. 248.
[3] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. pp. 225-7.
[4] C.O. 1/10, No. 17.
[5] The draft warrant was converted into a formal commission on 27th March.—C.O. 1/10, No. 28.

of Barbados. Knowing his connection with Warwick, we may surmise that it was the latter's influence in administrative circles which was employed to carry the intrigue through. The Government at this time was in the condition of not allowing its left hand to know what its right hand was doing ; for on the day preceding that on which Hawley's appointment was resolved upon, the King signed a letter to the Caribbean officers warning them that there was a plot against the proprietary interest and announcing that Carlisle had made choice of Major Huncks to be Governor of Barbados.[1] Whether or not Hawley's audacious bluff was discovered at once we cannot say, but he himself determined to play the game through, and he appeared at Barbados on 17th June, 1639, assuming the full powers of Governor besides those of his tobacco commission.[2] As he had told Warner three years before, ' hee believed his Majestie tooke noe notice of our commissions, but sett his hand to the letter as it was presented to him '[3]—which was a fairly accurate description of His Majesty's methods, at least in the affairs of the West Indies.

Huncks reached Barbados some twenty days after Hawley, his passage having taken twelve weeks ; and once there, he found himself as a child in the hands of his supplanter. Hawley had made use of his time to fill all the offices in the island with his own supporters, to liberate from the gaols all offenders against the proprietary, and to summon the burgesses in what appears to have been the first elected Assembly.[4] There is a certain humour in the spectacle of Hawley posing as a champion of liberty, and he was

[1] C.O. 1/10, No. 13. [2] *Memoirs*, p. 20. [3] C.O. 1/9, No. 21.
[4] Huncks's letter to Carlisle, 11th July, 1639.—C.O. 1/10, No. 72.

careful not to let the joke go too far. For it is evident that he was working merely for the ascendancy of a faction —the approved method of Caribbean politics—and that a large number of the planters were excluded from his favour. The witnesses at the enquiry of 1647 were eloquent upon the iniquities of the Alienation Office, a new engine of extortion which they represent as established by him in 1639–40.[1] It imposed heavy duties on sales and leases of land, which would naturally be more frequent and necessary now that the waste was all taken up. In Barbados it was, however, always possible to gather adherents for an unscrupulous abuse of power, and Hawley was quite ready to deal with Huncks when the poor man arrived. What followed is best told by a quotation from Huncks's plaintive letter to his employer :

'. . . A day I was appointed they would give me audience, that was, to speak ; but I should read noe Commission, but they would take tyme to thinck of it. I presented them the Kynges letter, which they did all extreamly slight, bidding lay it on the table. I desired them to take it. They would not, but bidd their Clark to take it and lock it up ; they would read it at more leasure. Then I demanded the Government according to my Commyssion. Captayne Hawley told me hee knewe not whether you had power or not, but my Commission they would have. [They] commanded me to yeald it up. I refusing, they told me they would seize my person. Some said the right belonged to the ffeoffees, which when I gave that letter, lockt it up. And Capt. Hawley told me the Propriety to belong to the Lord of Warwick, and not to you for ought hee knewe. I desired to know how hee held that then assuming power. Hee commanded the Marshall & Sargeant to come into the roome, and seize my Commission ; my Commission they had ; I was forc'd to

[1] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, ff. 4b, 11.

wayt their Leisure ; at last they after 4 dayes stay they had read the Kinges letter, [they said] Hee was misinform'd, they would answer the King. But they would not obey nor acknoledge nor receive any Governor but Capt. Hawley, and bidd me take that for an Answer. A resolucion was taken amongst them all of Parleament hee should be chosen Governor, and was proclaymed, and with the greatest scorne towards you that I have seene. I was threatned to be pistoll'd yf I demanded the Government. Hee meanes to bynd you by the lawes they now make. I cannot write one quarter of their designes, for I heare there is a shipp going home. I therfor send this for present. Hee hath brought a Master of Shipp to carry him for fflorida : hee pretends hee hath a Commission from the King for what hee doth. My Commission I gott, but the Letters they have. You may use your pleasure ; I doubt not but the care you will take will be great to gett the King to commaund him back. I was forc'd to come of ; noe man durst speak for feare. Hee sent his Brother to guard or overlooke me, soe I ship'd for Antigoa till your further orders. I pray lett me never receive from the King nor yourselfe that is matter of Commission sealed, and to be given into their hands.

Thus with my humble duty to your Honour, I cease, but not to bee,

Your Honour's in all duty whilst I am,

HEN. HUNCKS.'

Huncks accordingly went off to Antigua, whilst Hawley continued his lawless course at Barbados. We have no copy of the further letter which Huncks was to write to Carlisle, but the details which must evidently have been contained in it appear in a set of thirteen articles exhibited against Hawley by the Earl at the end of 1639.[1] According to these the delinquent incited the people against Carlisle, and omitted to have him prayed for in church. He received Huncks not in the ' assembly of the country,'

[1] C.O. 1/10, No. 28 (1).

but before a body of some thirty persons, which must mean the Council and the hitherto unprecedented house of elected representatives. He allowed two persons, one a member of the burgesses' house, the other a member of the Council, to make seditious speeches about the King and the Earl, whilst he (Hawley) adopted an irreverent and saucy attitude towards His Majesty, from whom he had obtained his commission by false pretences. He took forcibly from Peter Hay, Carlisle's receiver-general, a quantity of tobacco, and threatened to shoot him as he had shot Tufton. He used personal violence towards Huncks, and was credibly reported to have a design to murder him. And finally, he stated publicly that the island belonged to the Earl of Warwick, although he admitted in private conversation that this was untrue.

The evidence about Warwick's designs, although scanty, appears fairly conclusive, for Hawley was far too shrewd a man to have denied publicly the validity of the Carlisle patent unless he had counted upon powerful backing at home. It seems therefore most probable that he had an understanding with Warwick, which broke down owing to political circumstances in England.

Apart from this, the most interesting feature of Hawley's seizure of Barbados is the emergence of a representative Assembly ; and it is certain that the islanders owed this boon to the most arbitrary tyrant who ever ruled them. Before the summer of 1639 there is no evidence that an elected body existed, and there is presumptive evidence that it did not. The King's letter of 16th March, for example, refers to ' the Councell, Planters & Inhabitants of the said Iland ' in a context which would certainly have demanded mention of the Assembly had there been

one. But Huncks, in his letter of 11th July, says that Hawley ' summon'd the Cuntry, made the Gaole delivery a day of Mercy, chose Burgesses, settled a Parliament or in a parliamentary manner, as he term'd it.' Again, in Carlisle's articles against Hawley, cited above, there is reference to a person ' nowe elected a Burgesse.' Finally, some minutes of Privy Council business, dated 10th and 15th January, 1640, mention ' the Councell and Burgesses [of Barbados], their representative Body.'[1] As against this the *Memoirs* state that the first Assembly was called in the time of Captain Bell, who became Governor in 1641.[2] But their evidence cannot be allowed to stand against that of the contemporary documents quoted above. Bell's Assembly may well have been the first one approved and recognized at home.

Carlisle's accusations were answered by Captain Hawley's wife, who petitioned that the case should be heard before the Privy Council.[3] This was granted, but in the meantine the King issued a commission, dated 16th December, 1639, to Captain Henry Ashton, Peter Hay, and three others, to go to Barbados, dispossess Hawley, and reinstate Huncks.[4] The Council considered the business in January, decided that Hawley's commission for regulating the tobacco trade gave him no right to govern Barbados, reprimanded the inhabitants for supporting him, and ordered that he should find bail in £20,000 for his appearance in England within four months or else that he should be sent home a prisoner.[5]

The Commissioners duly reached Barbados, and by

[1] C.O. 1/10, Nos. 47, 48.
[2] P. 21.
[3] *Colonial Calendar*, p. 305.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 306, and *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. pp. 271-3.

23rd June, 1640, were able to report that Hawley had submitted and acknowledged his offence, the islanders having deserted him. They shipped him in custody for England, and installed Huncks in the government.[1] This might be expected to mark the close of Hawley's West Indian career, more especially as an enquiry held at Barbados in 1640 showed him to have been disposing of lands which were not his.[2] But in fact he emerged triumphant. He had a talent for moulding official persons to his purposes, and in January, 1641, we find the Privy Council issuing an order concerning him in a very different tone. Their Lordships commanded that he was at once to be put in possession of his property at Barbados and that Carlisle and the trustees were to give security to make good any damage done to it. Only then was he to give satisfaction for a debt which he owed to the Earl. His enemy Huncks was to see this executed.[3] So Hawley returned smiling to Barbados. He did not henceforward take the leading part in public affairs, but his name is to be found on the list of the island Council on several occasions during the Interregnum period. He died at a great age in 1677.

Huncks enjoyed a short and troubled governorship. Carlisle wrote in November, 1640, that he was still plagued by the disorderly conduct of the planters, who were disputing for the liberties accorded by Hawley to be confirmed.[4] This points to the representative Assembly, and there is no doubt that its supporters were

[1] *Col. Cal.*, p. 313.

[2] Local record, transcribed in Davis Papers, Box 1.

[3] *Col. Cal.*, p. 317 and *A.P.C., Col.*, p. 291.

[4] Carlisle to Ashton, Egerton MSS. 2597, f. 188.

victorious. Huncks was not the man to subdue them, and in the summer of 1641 he was glad to resign.[1] The Earl could find little to say for him, save that he accounted himself unhappy in his Governor's miscarriage, and that the accusations against him were enormous.[2] He had, in fact, committed his master to an agreement with the planters according them very favourable terms in the matter of rents and tenures. Carlisle was in no position to repudiate it. He signed a declaration on 8th February, 1641, admitting that the arrangement should remain in force until further orders, confirming in fee simple all lands legally occupied, granting oblivion for past offences, and suspending Peter Hay, his receiver-general, on account of his extortions.[3] The transactions of 1639–41 in Barbados, coupled with the disputes between the Earl and the trustees, had dealt a fatal blow at the proprietary authority, which thenceforward dwindled into insignificance in the island.

Of St. Christopher we have no such full history for the period 1636–42 as we have for Barbados, possibly because under the strong rule of Sir Thomas Warner the affairs of the island remained in a more tranquil condition. Warner observed the trend of the times and the tendency for the interests of the planters to emerge from the state of extreme subordination they had occupied under the first Earl of Carlisle. He began accordingly to revise his conception of his duty, and henceforward we find him acting no longer as the extreme supporter of proprietary absolutism but rather as the leader of the colonial

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 21, gives date of his departure as 18th June.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2597, ff. 189-90.

[3] Local record transcribed in Davis Papers, Box 1.

community. His attitude towards the home authorities became one of watchful civility. He avoided giving them any provocation, and he avoided also committing himself too deeply to their support. He was thus able to maintain his position amid all the vicissitudes of home affairs until his death in 1649.

Warner quitted England in the summer of 1636, soon after the death of the first Earl, and reached St. Christopher in September. He made a very unlucky passage, losing by sickness forty of the two hundred persons in his own ship, whilst he reported that her consort, carrying £4,000 worth of his goods, was missing and given up for lost. The time was ripe for expansion into the unoccupied islands covered by the patent, and Warner designed to colonize Martinique. For this purpose he touched at Barbados to recruit the necessary men, but Hawley vetoed the enterprise, and he had to leave it unfulfilled.[1]

Carlisle's letters to Captain Ashton, already cited,[2] contain some sidelights upon their relations with Warner in 1641-2. They indicate that Warner was inclined to recognize the authority of the trustees and disparage that of the Earl. He was evidently disposed to assert a real control as Lieutenant-General of all the islands, and this brought him into collision with Ashton at Antigua, who was the Earl's man. Carlisle writes somewhat spitefully about Warner, finding in him nothing but 'ayery flashes and self conceit.'

After d'Esnambuc's death in 1636 Pierre du Halde succeeded him as Governor of the French quarters. Two

[1] Warner to Windebank and the King, 10th and 15th Sept., 1636.—C.O. 1/9, Nos. 21, 22.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2597, ff. 188-90.

years later the French Company appointed the Chevalier de Poincy as Lieutenant-General of all their islands, with René de Beculat, Sieur de la Grange Fromenteau, as his deputy at St. Christopher.[1] De Poincy himself sailed from Dieppe in January, 1639, and reached Martinique after a month's passage.[2] With these successive French authorities Warner renewed the old treaties of partition and concluded new agreements necessitated by the growing density of population. In 1639 a dispute broke out concerning the common use of the salt-ponds on the southern point of the island, and several persons were killed in a scuffle for possession. War was imminent, but was averted by a new regulation of the matter. In the same year the tobacco question necessitated negotiation with the French. Warner and de Poincy agreed to prohibit all tobacco-planting for eighteen months from May, 1639, not only at St. Christopher but in the other islands of their respective commands.[3] But their authority was insufficient fully to enforce the arrangement. Guadeloupe on the French side refused to honour it, and de Poincy complained that the planting of ' petun ' was still going on at Antigua,[4] where Ashton was pursuing an independent line of conduct. Nevertheless the English customs records show a decline of about seventy per cent. in the tobacco shipments from the Caribbees (including

[1] Du Tertre, vol. i. pp. 121-3.

[2] *Mercure François*, Tome 23, Paris, 1646, p. 325, a kind of Annual Register published some years in arrear.

[3] These treaties are given in Egerton MSS. 2359, f. 10b (1637); ff. 11, 30-33 (Aug. and Oct., 1638); f. 35 (Sept., 1644); and Du Tertre, vol. i. p. 138 (salt-ponds, etc., 1639); p. 143 (tobacco, 1639).

[4] Egerton MSS. 2597, ff. 192-3.

Barbados) for 1639 and 1640 as compared with 1637 and 1638.[1] We hear nothing of Hawley's attempting to carry out his tobacco commission in the Leeward Islands, and it seems likely that Warner anticipated the instructions so as to leave no ground for interference to a man whom he disliked. The treaty with de Poincy was made before Hawley's arrival in the West Indies in 1639.

There is no systematic record of the number of negro slaves introduced into the Caribbees at this early period. At Barbados it is thought to have been inconsiderable before 1640, the planters relying principally on white labour. At St. Christopher, on the other hand, the negroes were already an important element in the population of the French quarter. We have mentioned that before 1636 d'Esnambuc threatened to use them in a war against the English. In November, 1639, there occurred the first revolt among them, when a band of sixty escaped with women into the hills and became the first Maroons of the islands.[2] Where statistics are lacking it is unsafe to dogmatize, but there is perhaps a connection between the employment of negroes by the French and their own shortage of white emigrants ; the English, having plenty of emigrants, finding it unnecessary to recruit black labour. The general weight of contemporary evidence gives the impression that this state of affairs may have been a great advantage to English expansion, for there was never any lack of man-power for the exploitation of new islands. Would the French, for example, have been able to accomplish the colonization of Jamaica had they been its captors in 1655 ?

[1] Add. MSS. 35865, f. 248.

[2] Du Tertre, vol. i. p. 153.

The history of Nevis and Montserrat, and to a less extent that of Antigua, remains under a veil during this period. Of the first named we have only a list of Governors without the dates of their tenures of office. It was written from memory by John Hilton in 1675, and is quite likely to be incorrect.[1] Hilton says that after the Spanish raid of 1629 his brother Anthony returned as Governor. This, we know, was in 1630. Anthony Hilton went away to Tortuga, leaving Thomas Littleton in his place. Littleton (about 1634) also left for Tortuga, after making Luke Stoakes his Deputy-Governor. When, shortly afterwards, the news of Littleton's death came to the Leeward Islands, Sir Thomas Warner replaced Stoakes by Captain Thomas Spurrow. After Spurrow there followed in quick succession Major Huncks (probably in 1637-8), Captain Jennings, Jenkin Lloyd, the Rev. John Meakem, Captain John Kettleby, and Captain Jacob Lake. Only with the last named do we again reach firm chronological ground, for the Earl of Carlisle, writing on 12th October, 1641, says he has recently appointed Lake as Governor.[2] After Lake's death in 1651 Luke Stoakes was reappointed and ruled until 1657; he was followed by Colonel James Russell, and finally, after the Restoration, by Colonel Randall Russell.[3] At Montserrat, Anthony Brisket, the first Governor, remained in office for over twenty years. He was referred to as recently deceased in 1654, being succeeded by Roger Osborne, another Irishman.[4]

Major Huncks, as we have seen, took refuge at Antigua when denied admission to Barbados in 1639. Captain

[1] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 503-7.
[2] *Ibid.*, 2597, ff. 189-90.
[3] *Colonial Cal., passim.*
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 419-21, 434.

Henry Ashton, the head of the commission sent out to reduce Hawley, went to Antigua as Governor after performing that task in 1640. From the two letters, already cited, which Carlisle addressed to Ashton, we learn a little of the state of the island in 1640–1. Its planters were in a struggling condition, suffering from Carib raids, and furnishing a revenue insufficient to pay for the arms and ammunition requisite for defence. Warner was censured by implication for not doing more to help them ; he was evidently on bad terms with Ashton. It may be inferred from the letters that there was a hope of working saltpetre and other minerals in the island. The rights had been leased to Sir William Boswell, formerly secretary to the first Earl, and a mining engineer had been sent over ; but we hear nothing of the results of his labours. In the second letter Carlisle mentions that he has commissioned a certain Mr. Calverly to plant on St. Bartholomew, and has given him the rank of colonel. He adds that if Ashton would like to be a colonel he will make him one also. The offer, as later references show, was accepted. It throws some light upon the swarm of military titles observable in the Caribbean records from this time forwards. By no means all of their holders were veterans of the Civil War.

The William Calverly above referred to did not make his plantation at St. Bartholomew. Instead, he sent 'one Brainsby' as his deputy to try his fortune at Santa Cruz. Brainsby took with him some men from St. Christopher with the approval of Warner, and occupied Santa Cruz for fourteen months. A crew of Zeelanders then took the island by surprise, murdered Brainsby and eleven of his men, and put an end to the

English colony. The date of these proceedings is not stated.[1]

A rather different light is thrown upon the Santa Cruz colony by a letter from Sir George Downing to John Winthrop the younger, dated from Newfoundland, 26th August, 1645. Downing had just made a voyage through the West Indies. He says that at Santa Cruz there were until recently 300 English, 300 French, and a large number of Dutchmen. The Dutch governed the island, and they and the French oppressed the English, not permitting English ships to trade there. In consequence the English rose against the French and the Dutch and drove them off the island. At the time of writing, the English were the sole possessors of Santa Cruz, and Major Reynolds had just been appointed Governor.[2] It would seem, therefore, that the murder of Brainsby and the loss of the colony must have taken place some time after 1645 and before the middle of 1650, he having gone there with the consent of Warner, who died in March, 1649.

We have mentioned that Warner went out to the West Indies in 1636 with the intention of planting new colonies on islands hitherto unoccupied. Hawley prevented him from recruiting the necessary men at Barbados, and the plan had to be momentarily dropped. In 1638, however, a serious attempt was made upon St. Lucia, the scene of the tragedy of 1605. The men were now obtained from Bermuda, a colony much under the influence of the Earl of Warwick, but Warner retained the general direction of the affair. In the year named one hundred and thirty

[1] C.O. 1/11, No. 47, petition of Calverly's wife to Committee for Foreign Affairs, 14th April, 1652.

[2] Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, Ser. 4, vol. vi. pp. 536-9.

Bermudians went to St. Lucia, and Warner appointed a certain Major Judge as Governor. The colonists were at first ill provided with arms and necessaries, sickness broke out, and the Caribs kept up a ceaseless attack. St. Lucia lay in the midst of the large Windward Islands, upon which the French had as yet only a precarious hold, and was itself of a much greater area than any island the English had previously settled. The Caribs were therefore a formidable foe and, coupled with the unhealthy climate, ruined the undertaking. Carlisle sent out a supply from England in 1639, and a very considerable reinforcement under Captain Philip Bell, a former Bermudian, in November, 1640. With Bell went one hundred and forty colonists and a shipload of provisions, arms, shoes and gunpowder. But all was of no avail ; the sickness continued ; and the end was that ' the Indians worried them out and they deserted.' This was probably in 1641, for in that year Bell took over the government of Barbados from Huncks. St. Lucia acquired so evil a reputation that it was not until the next century that English planters could be induced to attempt it again.[1]

At some date unknown Sir Thomas Warner also possessed himself of Marigalante, where he installed Thomas Williams as Governor. But about 1653 the Caribs killed or drove out all the settlers. Barbuda was also twice occupied, and on each occasion the inhabitants suffered a like fate.[2]

[1] The above represents a collation of scattered information from *A.P.C., Col.*, i. 290 ; C.O. 1/10, No. 30 ; Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 533-4 ; and *ibid.*, 2597, f. 188.

[2] Statements of Philip Warner (1676), in Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 533-4.

(ii) *The Islands during the Civil Wars*, 1642-9

This period, very important in the political development of the Caribbees, remains in partial obscurity owing to the deficiency of records. There are no Colonial State Papers nor Acts of the Privy Council dealing with the internal affairs of the islands, and very few of the former class of documents to throw any light upon their relations with the home government. We are therefore thrown back upon a few documents preserved in unofficial collections and upon the narratives of contemporary and later historians. The evidence to be drawn from these sources relates chiefly to Barbados, with only occasional references to the other islands.

The introduction of sugar planting, affecting the whole future of the plantations, belongs to the earlier part of the decade 1640–1650. Prior to 1640 the currency of Barbados was usually expressed in pounds of tobacco ; after 1650 it was invariably reckoned in pounds of sugar. The change also affected the Leeward Islands, but there it was less rapid and complete. Its significance lay in the fact that whereas tobacco could be grown on small plots without expensive stock and appliances, sugar needed large estates, gangs of labourers, numerous draught animals, mills and refining machinery. The islands thus ceased to be communities of small proprietors, and became the property of a lesser number of very wealthy men who preferred to employ negro slaves rather than free or semi-free white men. Like all social changes, it gave rise to unrest and discontent, and both the fortunate few and the unfortunate many were moved to profit by the troubles of the mother-country in an attempt at political independence.

The sugar-cane is generally agreed to have been introduced in Barbados about 1640 by Dutchmen from Brazil, and one Pieter Brower is named as the pioneer.[1] At first the English did not know how to deal with it, and found it useful for nothing but the concoction of a refreshing drink. However, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Drax applied himself seriously to the business of sugar-making, and in a few years brought it to perfection. Other far-seeing men followed his example and made their own fortunes by doing so. The Dutch mercantile firms fed the planters with negro slaves, mills and coppers, and in return secured the disposal of the cream of the output. Here the state of politics favoured them, for with the opening of the Civil War the commercial regulations of the English government became a dead-letter, and the fiscal claims of the Earl of Carlisle could scarcely have been more effective. The Dutchmen did business on the great scale. They lent money to the enterprising planter to enlarge his estate, supplied him with negroes and machinery on credit, and waited for repayment until the sale of the crops, at four times the price per acre commanded by tobacco, made both parties rich. But in the outcome the Dutch found that they had sown for others to reap, for after the Restoration English African Companies and English Navigation Acts deprived them of the benefits of Caribbean prosperity.

[1] The chief authorities are : Scott's ' Description of Barbados ' in Sloane MSS. 3662, professing to be written in 1667 from a study of local records ; and ' An Account of the English Sugar Plantations,' Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 629-35. Sir Dalby Thomas's *Historical Account of the West India Collonies*, London, 1690 (*Harl. Miscell.*, vol. ii. pp. 357-87), gives a general history of the sugar industry.

The result of this enterprise was to produce the plantations of which Richard Ligon describes an example.[1] In 1647 he accompanied Colonel Thomas Modyford to Barbados, and Modyford paid £7,000 for a half-share in an estate of 500 acres. Of this area 200 acres were devoted to sugar, 80 to pasture, 120 were woodland, 20 grew tobacco, 5 ginger, 5 cotton, and 70 provisions. Upon it stood a fair dwelling-house, an ingenio, a still-house, boiling-house, filling-room, carding-house, and cisterns. There were stables, a forge, provision-stores, and huts for the slaves. The labour was performed by 96 negroes, three Indian women, and 28 white servants; and the necessary animals were 45 draught cattle, 8 milch cows, 12 horses, and 16 asses. It needs little reflection to show that, apart from political circumstances in England, the days of proprietary tyranny of the old style must have been numbered when the lands of Barbados constituted properties of this sort.

Although the Dutch had a large share in the sugar trade, they had by no means a monopoly. We have already noted that amongst the petitioners for a change in the status of Barbados in 1647 were certain merchants of London,[2] and evidence exists to show that they and others became owners of the sugar plantations, besides being dealers in the output of the island. In October, 1647, for example, William Pennoyer petitioned for leave to export draught horses and oxen to Barbados for use in the sugar-works which he and others were erecting; and shortly afterwards Maurice Thompson & Co. made a similar request, showing

[1] R. Ligon, *A True and Exact History of Barbados*, London, 1657.

[2] See above Chap. VI. p. 125.

that they also had sugar-works.[1] Martin Noel, Thomas Povey, and other well-known Londoners engaged in the trade. These men must have been jealous of the Dutch, for it was their obvious interest that Englishmen should monopolize the transport of West Indian sugar; and it has been recently suggested that they were in great part the authors of the Navigation Act of 1651.[2]

The intrusion of the large capitalists into the ownership of plantations caused modifications in the population and social order of the islands. Before the era of sugar the population of the English colonies had been almost exclusively white. The tobacco and cotton planters had occupied small plots of from five to thirty acres, and had tilled them with the aid of a few white servants apiece. Colonel Scott reckons that it was one man's work to tend, cure and roll an acre of tobacco—2500 lb.—besides growing his own provisions.[3] The more fortunate of these servants became proprietors themselves when their time was out, so long as any more waste land remained for distribution. With the advent of sugar-planting financed by the Dutch slave-traders the negro began to displace the white labourer, and Scott gives certain figures of population which embody the results of the process. In 1645, he says, there were in Barbados 11,200 proprietors. This number appears somewhat excessive, for it implies an average holding of about ten acres, only if every inch of the island was occupied. If it is correct there must have

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *6th Report*, pp. 202-3.

[2] Paper by Mr. G. N. Clark in *History*, January, 1923; but surely the Act of 1650 was even more in accordance with their interests.

[3] 'Description of Barbados' in Sloane MSS. 3662.

been a vast number of very tiny plots, for we know that some large estates were already in existence. Scott, however, assures us that his statements are based upon an examination of the island archives. Twenty-two years afterwards, in 1667, the number of proprietors had fallen to 745, whilst that of the negro slaves had risen to 82,023. The white population, inclusive of servants, shows a similar decline. In 1645 there were 18,300 men fit to bear arms, and in 1667 only 8,300. This indicates at least that a fair proportion of white servants were still employed at the latter date. Scott deals only with able-bodied men, but from other sources we have some estimates of total population. The writer of a description of Barbados of the Restoration period says that in 1650 there were supposed to be 30,000 inhabitants ;[1] and Richard Ligon in 1657 puts it at 50,000 exclusive of negroes.[2]

Re-emigration accounted in great part for the replacement of whites by blacks. Scott computes that in the twenty-two years covered by his investigations 12,000 white men left the island to settle in other colonies, whilst the newcomers immigrating from England were only sufficient to balance the annual mortality. Antigua was marked out by Carlisle and afterwards by Willoughby for the reception of the overflow from Barbados. A declaration by the Earl in 1647 promised lands in Nevis and more especially in Antigua to time-expired servants from Barbados.[3] At the same period a number of the wealthier men in Barbados were taking up estates in Antigua. But

[1] Trin. Coll., Dublin, MSS., G. 4, 15, f. 182, etc.

[2] Ligon, p. 43.

[3] Printed sheet, B.M. 669, f. 11 (115).

that island's growth was slow, and the Barbadian surplus drifted much farther afield, to Trinidad and Surinam, and afterwards to Jamaica. As late as 1655 Antigua had only from 1000 to 1200 inhabitants.[1]

From the beginning of the Civil War the royal and proprietary authority ceased to be effective in the Caribbees, nor did that of the Parliament step at once into the vacant place. When Warwick's Commission for Plantations was appointed at the close of 1643, it attempted to secure the islands by offering certain privileges and at the same time nominating new Governors.[2] But the colonists were wary and with one accord refused compliance, although not declaring irrevocably in favour of the King. Philip Bell at Barbados might reasonably have been expected to join the Parliament. He was an old colonist of Bermuda, and had afterwards been in the service of the Providence Company, that is, of the Earl of Warwick. But he was now growing old and losing his energy, and his actual policy was that of following rather than leading the public opinion of the new wealthy class in Barbados. An account written from the planters' standpoint after the Restoration describes him as honest, just and rich, and says that he and his Council made the advancement of prosperity their chief object.[3] The context shows that the writer identified prosperity with the encouragement of the Dutch traders, which could certainly not be to the

[1] Two estimates, in *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. iii. pp. 754-5, and Add. MSS. 11411, f. 1.

[2] Stowe MSS. 184, f. 123b, also *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 51. The nature of the privileges and the names of the proposed Governors are not specified.

[3] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 629-35.

taste of any English government. Although Bell ended by becoming a Royalist, Warwick did not give up hopes of converting him, writing cajolements and mild threats right up to the execution of the King. There was also in the island a declared Parliamentary minority, of which the most prominent member was James Drax, afterwards knighted by the Protector.

Matters were in this condition when in 1645 Charles I despatched the Earl of Marlborough on a mission to the West Indies. Of this transaction very little is known save that Marlborough bore commissions for the instalment of new Royalist governors; what his own status was intended to be is not apparent. He had of course a claim on the revenues, arising out of the pension guaranteed to his father by the first Earl of Carlisle at the time of the passing of the original Letters Patent. Payments of the pension had been very irregular, and large arrears had accumulated. Barbados refused to recognize Marlborough's authority, but St. Christopher and Montserrat admitted him. How long he stayed we do not know, but the whole incident was evidently of short duration and led to no permanent result.[1]

Warwick's Commission, after dallying with the idea of reviving Carlisle's rights and ruling through him, made fresh overtures on its own account in 1646. The answer of the Barbadians, signed by Bell and his Council in October of that year, amounted to a refusal of allegiance. They protested that they had evinced goodwill by rejecting Marlborough and admitting merchantmen from the

[1] All that is known of it appears in *Lords' Journals*, vol. vii. p. 578, and ix. p. 51; and in some references in a letter written by Lord Willoughby in 1650.—Tanner MSS. 56, f. 209.

Parliament's ports. But they said they could not yield any formal obedience by reason of a general declaration of the inhabitants not to receive any alteration of government until there should be peace between King and Parliament. They concluded with a remark that the Parliament's grant of liberty of conscience was not needed in Barbados : every man already had it, only blasphemy and heresy being punished.[1] Since their definition of these offences would hardly have accorded with that of the Puritans at home, we may take it that the statement was ironically meant.

A letter-book of Warwick's for the years 1646–8 [2] shows that he kept up a steady correspondence with the Caribbean leaders, attempting to win over not only Bell but Warner, Brisket of Montserrat, and others of lesser rank. But the progress of affairs at home rendered his task ever more hopeless. While he was seeking to soothe the colonists by writing in respectful terms of the King, the tragedy of Whitehall was drawing nearer. He entreats Brisket to put away scruples and consider the public service by taking his commission from Parliament. To Warner he declares that his authority over the plantations was unsought but imposed upon him, and argues that the submission of the colonists will be no desertion but will rather tend to the preservation of His Majesty's honour. The Barbadians he chides gently for their commerce with the Dutch, and urges them to amend their ways without forcing him to prescribe a definite rule for their conduct. These feeble letters, written by a man whose character was by no means feeble, illustrate very clearly

[1] *Lords' Journals*, vol. ix. p. 51.

[2] Stowe MSS. 184, ff. 123-7.

the impotence of the mother-country to control her colonies save under one condition—that she should possess an ocean-going fleet and be prepared to use it. It was a lesson that the Puritans and their successors laid to heart.

The above-named condition not yet being satisfied, the position of the islands by 1649 was that of virtual independence. The Leeward group were possessed by a lukewarm royalism; their people would have liked to see some composition between King and Parliament, and certainly disapproved of the strong courses taken by the victorious party at home. On the other hand, uncompromising royalism entailed the revival of the proprietary régime, which few could have desired, and which there was no consciousness of strength to render ineffective. These colonies were therefore not likely to make much resistance to a Parliamentary force whenever one could be spared. Their position may be compared with that of Virginia and Maryland, where also Royalist sentiment was unsupported by more material motives. In Barbados matters were different. Numbers of Cavalier officers had settled since 1645-6, and some of their 'other ranks' had been shipped to the island as indentured servants on becoming prisoners of war. This greatly strengthened Royalist sentiment. In addition, the economic revolution caused by sugar-planting had produced a sense of wealth and power which discounted the military resources of England and gave rise to a determination to maintain an open trade with all the world. Royalism thus became a stalking-horse for the accomplishment of a policy which was essentially economic. Had Charles I been suddenly restored to power at the beginning of 1649 there can be

little doubt that his loyal subjects in Barbados would have resisted with equal vehemence both the re-establishment of the old proprietary rights and the revival of the old regulations for the shipment of produce exclusively to England; and it would have needed an armed expedition for the enforcement of these things as certainly as it now needed one for the assertion of Parliament's ideas concerning imperial control. Barbados, in fact, with her defensible coast and her militia comparable in numbers to the armies which had decided the fate of England, considered herself strong enough to stand alone and treat as an equal with the mother-country.

VIII

THE INTERREGNUM

(i) *The Royalist Rebellion and the Commonwealth Conquest*, 1649-52

By the date of the King's execution the more ardent Royalists at Barbados had become sufficiently powerful to be able, should they choose, to make a bid for the control of the government. Prominent among them were Edward Walrond, a lawyer, his brother Colonel Humphrey Walrond, and another soldier, Major William Byam. Among the minority of Commonwealth's men the most notable was James Drax. Between the two extremes, desirous to act as a moderating influence, stood Philip Bell, the old Governor. Bell's energy and force of character were insufficient to enable him to make headway against the turbulent elements, and he was moreover very much under the thumb of his wife, whose sentiments were Royalist.[1] We have no notice of any outburst of indignation on the receipt of news of the King's death, but

[1] The only full authorities for the internal events of Barbados for this period are two pamphlets: *A briefe Relation of the late Horrid Rebellion acted in the Island Barbadas*, by Nicholas Foster, London, 1650; and *A brief Relation of the Troubles of Barbados*, by A. B., London, 1653. The late N. Darnell Davis, in *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados*, Georgetown, 1887, related the story at length from these sources. It should be noted, however, that

it is easy to imagine that the event must have exacerbated dissensions which had long been smouldering. The first development was an underground war of intrigue wherein the extreme Royalists worked to discredit the Roundheads and capture the administration. To effect this they had to throw the neutral party, still apparently the most numerous, into a panic, and so induce them to commit some irrevocable act of defiance towards the English government.

This stage occupied the whole of 1649—at least we see none of its overt results until the early part of the following year. The Colonial State Papers, although still for the most part wanting, become a little more numerous at this period. From them we learn that in March, 1649, the Council of State was apprehensive about Barbados, and ordered a committee to consider whether it was safe to license the export of horses thither, in case of disaffection, horses being reckoned as a munition of war.[1] The report was evidently reassuring, and no disturbing news came from the island, for in May and July the export of horses was permitted : [2] Virginia, Maryland and Bermuda were during this year the chief causes of anxiety in the colonial sphere. On 26th July a letter was sent to all the plantations intimating the change in the English government, and requiring the inhabitants to continue in their obedience. There is no trace of any hostile reply being received from Barbados and, in fact, it is not until June,

Foster, as his title indicates, was a partisan. A. B., whilst writing with an air of impartiality, was also anti-Royalist, and we might find contradiction of some of his statements if an account by the other side existed.

[1] *Colonial Cal.*, p. 328. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

1650, that any state paper exists to show that the Commonwealth had taken serious alarm on the score of the Caribbees. By that time events had moved fast and far.

By the opening of 1650 the Walronds had acquired a strong influence over Bell—described by A. B. as 'the poor old governor'[1]—and had got Major Byam appointed Treasurer and Master of the Ordnance. They desired to form a league with the Bermudians, but the moderate party would not consent. Then the Walronds called together a committee of their adherents and declared that a Roundhead plot had been detected to proscribe all Royalists and deprive them of their estates. Bell called an Assembly to which, under the seal of secrecy, the same news was divulged. The Assembly, carried off its feet, on 15th April, 1650, passed Acts imposing an oath of allegiance to the existing régime in Barbados and limiting the freedom of Puritan worship. Drax and his party protested and won over Bell. The Walronds denounced Bell and Drax alike as traitors, raised an armed force, dispersed a counter-rising led by Drax and the moderates, and compelled the Governor to submit to their will. This marks the transition from intrigue to open rebellion, and matters had just reached this position (30th April, 1650), when Lord Willoughby of Parham arrived in Carlisle Bay with his patent from the Earl and a commission from Charles II.

The Walronds were taken somewhat aback by the appearance of one who had every right to assume control of the Royalist movement. A. B. declares that their motive all through had been to enrich themselves by con-

[1] Bell was 70 at the time of his death in 1659.—Mass. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, Ser. 4, vol. vii. p. 510.

fiscation of their opponents' property, and that now they sought to arouse prejudice against Willoughby on the score of his having been a Parliamentarian. It is certain that Willoughby did not land for several days. When he did so, on 7th May, Charles II was proclaimed King with due ceremony.[1] Then it was arranged that Willoughby should make a visit to the Leeward Islands whilst the Walronds completed their proceedings at Barbados. They did so without delay, fining and banishing on 11th May all the most prominent Roundheads, and sequestrating their property. James Drax was sentenced to pay 80,000 lb. of sugar, and eight others incurred heavy penalties. About a hundred more were banished.[2] The exiles, coming home to England, told a story which moved the Commonwealth to immediate measures of retaliation.

Willoughby meanwhile sailed to Antigua, where Barbadian influence was paramount and Ashton was still Governor. He easily secured the island, for what it was worth, and marked out for himself a considerable property for future development. But his chief object in this region was to win over St. Christopher, and there he failed. Sir Thomas Warner had died early in 1649, and the inhabitants had elected Major Rowland Redge to succeed him. Willoughby at first expressed pleasure in

[1] *Col. Cal.*, p. 346. This statement by several persons recently arrived from Barbados says that Willoughby was present at the proclamation of the King. A. B. (p. 5) implies that it was done by the Walronds after his departure for Antigua. Foster, on the other hand, dates the proclamation 3rd May, before Willoughby's landing.

[2] Foster, pp. 48-50.

the choice, and wrote a cordial letter to Redge and the Council of St. Christopher.[1] They replied promptly, refusing the overture, and desiring to be excused from meddling in the impending contest with the Commonwealth.[2] This was in July, 1650. In the spring of 1651 Redge wrote also to Carlisle a letter which throws a gleam of light upon the affairs of St. Christopher during a dark period.[3] He complains of Willoughby's high-handed actions, his defiance of England, and his neglect of the Earl's interests. He shows that St. Christopher had refused to become a party to the rebellion, 'for wee would not be Aliens to our native Countrey in opposinge the Government of England, wherein wee should render our selfes despicable, and ruine so many poore soules that doe depend upon the peace and quietnes of this place to reape the fruits of theire labours.' Willoughby's propositions had been brought by Colonel Ashton of Antigua and Colonel Ellice of Barbados. Their rejection indicates that Redge was continuing Warner's policy of non-intervention. His action on this occasion was sufficient to keep him in favour with the Commonwealth, which reckoned him as one of its supporters. When he was accidentally drowned in 1652 a government print described him as 'a very honest man.'[4] Nevertheless he had in October, 1649, signed a boundary agreement with the French under the style of 'Governor of St.

[1] Tanner MSS. 56, f. 209.

[2] *Ibid.*, f. 209b.

[3] Tanner MSS. 54, ff. 44-5.

[4] *Bloudy Newes from the Barbadaes*, 1652, reprinting news from the *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 90. In spite of the title it contains nothing of importance about Barbados, the 'newes' being a purely imaginary story of a battle between Ayscue and Willoughby.

Christophers under Charles II,' thus anticipating the Barbadians by more than six months.[1]

One other fact emerges from Redge's letter: he refers to the government of St. Christopher as consisting of Governor, Council, and Assembly. This appears to be the earliest mention of the elected body. Perhaps it had existed for many years; the scantiness of the island records leaves the possibility that it may have done so unnoticed. Perhaps, on the other hand, Warner, an autocrat by nature, had succeeded in staving off the advent of representative government as long as he had lived.

Concerning the attitude of Nevis and Montserrat we have only the indirect evidence that they are not included in the list of rebellious colonies with which trade was prohibited by the ordinance of October, 1650. Their proximity to St. Christopher and former dependence upon it tend to account for their refusal to join Willoughby, which we must presume took place. The Caribbean revolt was therefore limited to Barbados and Antigua, and its suppression demanded only the reduction of the former, for the strength of the latter was negligible.

Willoughby was again at Barbados in August.[2] In that month the Assembly passed measures for the defence of the island and for the modification of the former acts of confiscation. On this matter Willoughby adopted a moderate attitude intended to conciliate the mass of the planters, who were more concerned with the rights of property than with politics. He allied himself with Colonel Modyford, deprived the Walronds of civil and

[1] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 37. [2] *Col. Cal.*, p. 342.

military command, reversed the sequestrations, and passed a bill of indemnity. He also made overtures to the Commonwealth for recognition.[1] These had evidently reached England by 22nd November, for there is a distinct allusion to them in a paper of that date.[2] Nothing came of the effort, and Willoughby seems not to have hoped much from it, for before it was possible for him to receive an answer he had passed an Act at Barbados declaring the King's rights and those of himself and Carlisle, and imposing penalties for any attempt to subvert the worship of the Church of England.[3] The revenue question he settled by inducing the planters to agree to an export duty of 4 per cent. Although we have no explicit evidence on the point, it is fairly certain that they had ceased to pay the proprietary quit-rents. A letter written by Willoughby in the following year explains that his general policy has been to tire England into an accommodation by 'stonewalling' methods, relying upon the assumption that she would be unable to spare a naval force of sufficient strength for his reduction.[4]

In this, however, he miscalculated. The Commonwealth statesmen received full news of the revolt in August, 1650, and prepared to act at once. A paper of 27th August shows that a plan of action had already been framed, and that there was some objection on the part of the London merchants interested in Barbados.[5] The next entry reveals the cause of their dislike; a bill was

[1] A. B., p. 6.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, p. 346.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 344, 17th Oct.

[4] Willoughby to his wife, written (or received) 9th Aug., 1651.—Tanner MSS. 54, ff. 147-9.

[5] *Col. Cal.*, p. 342.

to be introduced in Parliament for the prohibition of all trade with the island, and an expedition was to be sent out consisting of two warships and four merchantmen equipped at the expense of the merchants. Pending the completion of these measures the Admiralty on 31st August laid an embargo on all ships going to Barbados.[1] Here it should be explained that the mercantile interest, whilst desiring the reduction of the island, deprecated a resort to force on other grounds besides those given above. They feared that fighting might lead to the destruction of their property, and argued that the matter could be peacefully arranged by their own diplomacy. To this end they asked permission to send out representatives in advance of the fleet in order to bring about an accommodation. Willoughby had counted upon some such course being adopted, but the Council of State would have none of it. They determined to crush defiance and not to bargain with it, and they refused the merchants' request.[2]

The bill for prohibiting trade with Barbados, Antigua, Bermuda and Virginia took shape during September, passed rapidly through the Commons, and became law on 3rd October, 1650.[3] The preamble cites the acts of rebellion committed, and expressly limits them to the four colonies named. All persons therefore, foreigners

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Col. Cal.*, pp. 350-1 (Feb., 1651). The merchants, however, were firm for the ejection of Willoughby, since he embodied the proprietary rights which they were working to abolish. (See *ibid.*, p. 346).

[3] *Commons' Journals*, vol. vi. pp. 474, 478. The full text is in H. Scobell's *Collection of Acts and Ordinances*, London, 1658, pp. 132-4.

included, are in general forbidden to trade with these colonies; but Englishmen may do so under administrative licence. But the Act goes further than this. Alleging the necessity of preventing the transit across the ocean of enemies of the Commonwealth, it proceeds to forbid all foreigners to trade with any English colonies in America and the West Indies save under licence from the English government. Finally, it empowers the Council of State to make fresh arrangements for the government of the colonies, any former Letters Patent notwithstanding.

The fact that this measure was ostensibly framed to cope with an emergency which soon passed away has tended to divert attention from its permanent significance.[1] For that it was intended to inaugurate a permanent restriction of colonial business to English traders there is no doubt. There is no hint in its wording that it is to expire on the reduction of the revolted colonies. The licensing provisions allow of the re-establishment of English trade with them, and of foreigners' trade solely at the discretion of the English administration. The more famous Navigation Act of 1651, read with that of 1650 as its context, amounts merely to a closing of gaps and loopholes in so far as it concerns the colonial trade. It provides that the English merchants, already granted the colonial monopoly, must employ English shipping in its exploitation The extent of the enforcement of these Acts is, of course, another question; it was undoubtedly incomplete. But it is important for critics of the 1651 measure to

[1] The late G. L. Beer seems to be the only historian who has realized this. See his *Origins of the British Colonial System*, New York, 1908, pp. 383-7.

remember that its predecessor of 1650 was theoretically in operation throughout the Interregnum.[1]

The despatch of the squadron for the reduction of the colonies was much delayed. Sir George Ayscue, its commander, received his instructions in February, 1651. He was to conquer all the rebellious colonies in turn, taking Barbados first, and leaving there his fellow Commissioner Daniel Searle as Governor. The Commissioners (Ayscue, Searle, and Captain Michael Pack) were given the outlines of the terms they were to impose, and power to conclude others at their discretion.[2] Ayscue, however, was not able to sail at once for the west. His ships were needed during the spring and early summer for operations against the Royalist stronghold of the Scilly Islands, whence privateers were committing depredations upon English trade. This task being finished, Ayscue sailed on his main errand with seven armed ships and 860 men at the beginning of August, and reached Barbados on the evening of 15th October. Captain Pack entered Carlisle Bay in advance of his commander, and his first action on the morrow was to seize a number of Dutch ships which were trading in contravention of the Act of the previous year.[3]

Force of circumstance had in the meanwhile been converting Willoughby from a moderate into an extremist. He had hoped to make a bargain with the Commonwealth

[1] The Act is expressly cited in a case arising in January, 1655.—C.O. 1/12, Nos. 33 and 33 (i); also in *Col. Cal., Addenda*, 1574-1674 No. 231, where in the instructions to Capt. Wm. Goodson, 10th Oct., 1655, is a clause ordering him to seize all ships infringing the Act of 1650.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, pp. 349-50.

[3] *Col. Cal.*, p. 362 (Ayscue to Bradshaw, 19th Oct.).

by which he could have retained the governorship, if not of all the Caribbees, at least of Barbados. But, like all the world, he misjudged the men who were now ruling England. Their position appeared precarious in the extreme, and it was expected that they would snatch at any chance of reducing the number of the quarrels they had upon their hands. Instead they hardened their hearts, courted a decision by force of arms, and emerged triumphant from a war with a ring of enemies upon land and sea. These were the true tactics of revolution, as later history has confirmed, but in the seventeenth century they were realized in advance by none but their first exponents.

To Willoughby the revelation came at the opening of 1651. In February [1] he heard of the Parliament's intention to send an expedition, and of the Act of the previous October, with its clause empowering the framing of a new government in disregard of proprietary rights. He received the news as a declaration of war and answered by a declaration of independence. On 18th February, 1651, he, with the Council and Assembly of Barbados, enacted that the Parliament's measure was contrary to the freedom, safety and well-being of the island ; that the Barbadians were seeking to usurp no authority, but only to maintain their established form of government ; and that they ought not to be bound by the decisions of a Parliament in which they had no representatives. They furthermore declared their gratitude to the Dutch for their former commercial aid, and their intention to resist

[1] A. B. (pp. 6-7) says March, but the text of the following declaration shows that the news must have arrived before 18th Feb.

the Commonwealth to the death.[1] Parliamentary control of the colonies, first asserted by the appointment of Warwick's Commission of 1643, had taken less than eight years to arouse the awkward question of representation. Prior to the Civil War all legislation for the control of the colonies had taken the shape of Letters Patent, Orders in Council, and similar exercises of the royal prerogative. Was the maintenance of the prerogative the sole reason for this course, or did the King's legal advisers foresee the difficulty which was to rend the empire asunder in the eighteenth century ?

In taking the extreme course Willoughby was encouraged by the news that Dunbar had not been fatal to Charles II's prospects, and that he was still at the head of a strong force in Scotland.[2] Willoughby's earlier policy had been to reverse the sequestrations of the banished Parliamentarians. He now confirmed them and occupied the summer of 1651 in making preparations for the defence of Barbados.

Ayscue's squadron, as we have seen, arrived in the middle of October. With the strength at his command he was powerless to take the island by assault, for its defenders mustered between 5000 and 6000 men in arms. He contented himself therefore with maintaining a blockade, keeping up an interchange of notes with Willoughby, seeking to tempt the islanders by a studied moderation of attitude, and in the meanwhile awaiting reinforcements.[3]

[1] Printed copy, B.M., E. 644, 4, reprinted in full in Schomburgk's *Barbados*, pp. 706-8, and N. D. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-200.

[2] A. B., pp. 6-7.

[3] The correspondence between Ayscue and Willoughby is summarised in the *Colonial Calendar*, and many of the documents are printed in full by N. D. Davis. The best continuous account of

The news of Worcester and the downfall of English Royalism arrived on 8th November, and was communicated to Willoughby four days later ; an accompanying letter from his wife assured him that it was only too true. Early in December the fleet intended for the reduction of Virginia joined Ayscue, raising his strength by 600 men. He then effected and maintained a lodgment upon the coast. His diplomacy and the logic of events did the rest. Modyford and Hawley (the ex-Governor) entered into private negotiation with him, and the former brought over 2000 men in a body. Willoughby was still rampant and irreconcilable, but a battle could now have had but one issue. It was prevented by torrents of rain, and ere the weather cleared Willoughby found himself compelled to sign articles on 11th January, 1652.

The Articles of Surrender,[1] to give the document its official title, provided for liberty of conscience ; government by a Governor, Council, and Assembly ; no taxation save that approved by the Assembly ; restitution of confiscated property on either side, including Willoughby's private estates both in England and the West Indies ; freedom of all English ports to Barbadians, and freedom of trade by them with all friendly nations ; and for an Act of Indemnity to be passed by the English Parliament as soon as possible. The terms, although they involved the complete extinction of Royalist pretensions, were favourable to the Barbadians as colonists. For that reason

the operations is contained in a letter from Capt. Pack to Bradshaw, 18th Feb., 1652 (C.O. 1/11, No. 43). The *Calendar* gives its substance in brief.

[1] Printed in *Acts and Statutes of Barbados*, 1654 ; and reprinted in full by Davis.

they chose to regard them as the charter of the island,[1] although they were certainly liable to interpretation in the light of existing English laws which Ayscue had no authority to infringe. On this score the article concerning freedom of trade led to dissatisfaction, for it could mean very little when curbed by the Acts of 1650 and 1651. When this became clear to the colonists they complained that they had been defrauded, although there can be little doubt that the better-instructed among them must have accepted the equivocation with their eyes open. Men such as Hawley can have had no illusions on the comparative weight of an admiral's signature and an Act of Parliament. But in fact 'freedom of trade' was an undefined term capable of the very narrowest interpretation; and when the House of Commons confirmed the Articles on 18th August, 1652, it did not boggle at the phrase, and the administration merely continued, to the best of its ability, to enforce the pre-existing laws as if there were no contradiction involved.

Willoughby quitted Barbados in March, 1652, and sailed for Surinam, where agents of his had established a new English colony. Before the end of May he left Surinam and went to England, touching at Barbados and Antigua on the way. On 4th March also an Act of the new Assembly of Barbados banished the Walronds, Byam and six other leading Royalists for one year, with a further prohibition of their return after its expiration unless with the licence of the English government.[2]

[1] They are so described in the collection named in the preceding footnote.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, p. 391.

(ii) *The Islands as part of the Puritan Empire*, 1652-60 [1]

Daniel Searle, left by Ayscue as Governor of Barbados, retained that office throughout the Interregnum. It was not an easy post to fill, for his subjects, not having been defeated in the field, were by no means abject in their submission to the Commonwealth. The articles of surrender had granted the colonists the right to elect an Assembly with power to veto taxation. They used it on more than one occasion to return members who were Royalist at heart and determined to embarrass their rulers by all the means in their power. Searle's difficulties were those of Cromwell at home, inherent in the attempt to establish a popular constitution by the power of the sword and to work it in co-operation with a fundamentally discontented electorate. As early as June, 1652, John Bayes, one of the Barbadian Roundheads proscribed by the Walronds, wrote to the Council of State that the Assembly elected before the departure of Ayscue's force was 'malignant' in tone, as was also the Council nominated at the same time. Searle's commission gave him no power to replace these councillors, with the result that he was often out-voted by them, and many persons were still designing separation from England.[2] Bayes returned to London and stated his views to the government even more forcibly. The planters, he said, were

[1] The Proprietary Patents having been in abeyance during this period, it has not seemed desirable to give more than a sketch of some leading features of Barbadian affairs in the course of it. For the other islands the materials for a detailed history do not exist.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, p. 384.

arguing that since every corporation in England had the right annually to elect their magistrate, the colony should in like manner elect its own Governor, 'and that to appoint Governors over them is not Freedom but King-like.' [1]

The result of these representations was a new commission to Searle in June, 1653, after the expulsion of the Long Parliament, empowering him to nominate a new Council of six members. At the same time he dissolved the Assembly, and the voters returned a new one as hostile as the old. This new body also the Governor had to suspend from its duties.[2] He complained especially of Colonel Modyford as a restless spirit. Modyford considered himself entitled to a large share of power in return for his services in forcing Willoughby to submit, yet he was known to be untrustworthy in the event of a revival of Royalist prospects. He was, in fact, one of that numerous band of men throughout the Empire who had no belief in the permanence of the Puritan revolution and shaped their course with a view to profiting by both present and future events. His prescience was justified, for at the Restoration he became a knight and Governor of Jamaica. When the Protectorate was firmly in the saddle Searle's difficulties decreased, for the Barbadians realized that Cromwell was an ill man to trifle with; yet like Modyford they were but biding their time, and after Cromwell's death they began to take steps for inaugurating the Restoration. On the news of Richard Cromwell's resignation the Assembly passed a declaration rendering void all patents granted by the two Protectors, and Searle and his Council wrote a perfectly non-committal letter

[1] C.O. 1/12, No. 2. [2] *Col. Cal.*, pp. 406, 408.

to the Council of State, in which they merely recognized ' the supreme authority ' in England.[1]

Much of the unrest at Barbados was due to the existence of the Navigation Acts of 1650 and 1651. ' Existence ' is written advisedly, for enforcement appears never to have been complete, save on the rare occasions when English warships were cruising near the island. The presence of Ayscue's squadron in 1651-2 formed one of these occasions, and that of the armament which took Jamaica in 1655 was another. On 16th March of the latter year Edward Winslow wrote to Thurloe that the Dutch had been trading openly and continuously, and that the local courts refused to enforce the law.[2] At St. Christopher also, at a somewhat later date, the Governor, Colonel Clement Everard, was accused of permitting the Dutch to engross the trade of the island, to the prejudice of English merchants.[3] An entry book of the papers of Thomas Povey, a merchant dealing largely in the Caribbees, contains copies of arguments used in a discussion between Cromwell and the interested parties.[4] The planters of Barbados complained that restriction rendered them ' slaves to the merchants,' and also that the articles of surrender guaranteed freedom of trade. The merchants rejoined that the Dutch imports were injurious and demoralizing, consisting chiefly of wines and spirits ; and they cited the universal custom of other nations in forbidding foreigners to trade with their colonies. The Protector decided that the Acts should be

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 476, and *Addenda*, 1574-1674, No. 322.

[2] *Thurloe State Papers*, vol. iii. p. 249.

[3] *Col. Cal.*, p. 473 (1659).

[4] Add. MSS. 11411, ff. 3b-5, no date, but after 1654.

provisionally maintained, but promised an enquiry with a view to taking account of the planters' grievances in further legislation upon the subject. Of this promise nothing more is recorded. The general conclusion seems to be that when enforced the Acts tended to produce a scarcity of necessary articles,[1] and when dormant they caused a feeling of insecurity which could only be injurious to trade. The policy of keeping an Act upon the statute-book and enforcing it only by fits and starts was undoubtedly a bad one ; but it must be remembered that it was dictated by circumstance and inherited from a distant past. The commercial history of all nations throughout the sixteenth century is one long catalogue of disputes arising from this cause. Governments habitually laid down programmes of trade regulation in advance of their means to enforce them, and they regarded the holding in reserve of dormant statutes as a convenient means of applying sudden pressure to their neighbours. Of the latter motive the Puritan statesmen were not guilty, and so we may regard them as making some advance in the treatment of the navigation problem.

When the Army had triumphed over the Presbyterians in 1648 a portion of the fleet had revolted and gone over to the Royalists in Holland. Prince Rupert had taken command of this squadron, with Lord Willoughby for a short time as his subordinate. The Commonwealth fleets had successively hunted Rupert out of the Channel, the Irish ports, the Tagus and the Mediterranean. In 1651 he began a long cruise for English prizes in the neighbourhood of the Azores and the African coast, and only after the fall of Barbados did he make for the West Indies

[1] *Col. Cal.*, p. 390, Searle's statement, 1652.

in the summer of 1652. He intended nevertheless to try his fortune at Barbados, and in the absence of a Commonwealth squadron he might have stirred up a new revolution there ; but he overshot the island and was unable to beat up to it again. It was a common mishap, and had occurred to a drunken Dutch skipper two years before : he was so certain of the accuracy of his navigation that he spread a report in Amsterdam that Barbados must be drowned since he had been unable to find it.[1] Rupert went on to the Leeward Islands, was refused supplies at Montserrat and Nevis, and next tried St. Christopher. There he attacked the shipping in the road and was fired upon by the English forts, but at the French quarter he was kindly received. Afterwards he went to the Virgin Islands to careen and refit. Disaster then overcame him ; a hurricane broke up his squadron and drowned his brother Maurice, and he himself returned to France with a single ship in 1653.[2] His transactions in the Leeward Islands illustrate their continued determination to mind their own business and not to meddle in Royalist politics.

The Interregnum period saw in the Leeward Islands the partial accomplishment of the economic revolution which had already happened so rapidly and completely in Barbados. The cultivation of sugar was introduced in all the islands, but except at Nevis it nowhere came near to involving the exclusion of other staple crops. The follower of Prince Rupert who wrote the account of his West

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Finch MSS.*, vol. i. p. 59.

[2] E. Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, London, 1849, vol. iii., reprints an account of the voyage from a contemporary MS. See also *Col. Cal.*, pp. 383, 390.

Indian voyage of 1652 says of Nevis: 'This is esteemed the best island for sugar: it makes little of any other commodities, only some tobacco to windward, which is valued more than any other of the English plantations.'[1] This statement receives confirmation from some papers relating to debts in the Leeward Islands for the period 1653-6. The amounts were reckoned in pounds of sugar or tobacco, but the former was more particularly in evidence at Nevis than elsewhere.[2] Some pages from a ledger of 1654-5 containing details of trade at Montserrat and Antigua show at the former island dealings in and shipments of large quantities of tobacco, and of a considerable but smaller amount of sugar; and at Antigua a trade in tobacco only.[3] But the danger of generalizing from fragmentary evidence of this sort is emphasized by an official statement of almost the same date wherein it was said of Antigua that 'many are now planting sugar, cotton and indigo.'[4] At St. Christopher the supersession of tobacco by other crops was probably less rapid than elsewhere. The financial transactions of the planters recorded in the above-mentioned documents are nearly all expressed in a tobacco currency, sugar being only occasionally used.

Of population in these islands we have very incomplete records. An officer who went the round of the group in 1655 to raise men for the San Domingo expedition reported of St. Christopher: 'This island is almost worn out by reason of the multitudes that live upon it.'[5] In spite of this fact Governor Everard was unwilling to allow enlistment owing to the presence of the French. Twelve years

[1] Warburton, p. 376. [2] Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 69-83.
[3] *Ibid.*, ff. 54-9. [4] C.O. 1/12, No. 68 (i), April, 1656.
[5] Thurloe, vol. iii. pp. 754-5.

earlier a Jesuit report had estimated the number of Irishmen in the island at 20,000,[1] which must almost certainly be an exaggeration. It is much more likely to be an outside figure for the total population of the English quarter. Antigua, we know, had not more than 1200 people in 1655-6.[2] Nevis had a large surplus population; in October, 1656, it spared 1400 men, women and children for the colonization of Jamaica.[3] This may have some connection with its forwardness in adopting sugar-planting, which had produced a similar re-emigration from Barbados. For Montserrat there appear to be no figures available.

The record of the internal affairs of the Leeward Islands presents few points of interest during the Interregnum. The annals of Nevis and Montserrat are almost blank for the period, save for the details already given, and the murder of a planter by Governor Osborne of the latter colony in 1654. At St. Christopher pressure of population kept alive the ill-feeling between French and English which was to lead to the catastrophe of 1666, but for the present an uneasy peace was maintained. The Irish element was a danger to English power. In 1650 a Jesuit priest was sent out by his order to carry on work among his co-religionists. He built a chapel just inside the French boundary at Sandy Point and attracted crowds of Irish servants over the border. After staying three months and making 3000 parishioners he went in disguise to Montserrat and conducted a similar mission there. Later, he attempted to resume his work at St. Christopher.

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Franciscan MSS., p.* 243.

[2] See above, Chap. VII. p. 159.

[3] *Col. Cal., Addenda*, 1574-1674, No. 272.

The English authorities bestirred themselves and forbade the Irish to cross the border. A great deal of sedition resulted, and the Jesuit finally removed to Guadeloupe in 1653.[1]

More is known of Antigua than of the other islands, principally on account of its difficulties. Henry Ashton, the Royalist appointed by the Earl of Carlisle, was Governor from 1640 to 1652. As early as 1644 there is a record of Acts dealing with social matters passed by the Governor, Council and Assembly.[2] In view of the scantiness of population it seems possible that the Assembly at this date was not an elected body but a primary meeting of the planters. Ashton threw in his lot with Willoughby, and Ayscue replaced him by Christopher Keynell in 1652.[3] The island was regarded as promising, but it was much troubled by Carib raids and failed to attract many settlers. Amongst those who did establish themselves, however, were a body of Norwegians. Keynell had an unhappy time as Governor. His Assembly, now undoubtedly an elected one, gave him much trouble, and the island continued in an even more disorderly state until 1655. In that year the Assembly, failing to secure redress of its grievances, passed some measures in defiance of Keynell's wishes. He refused his assent, and decided to go to England to lay his troubles before the Protector. Before leaving he installed a certain Major Carden as his deputy and imprisoned the ringleaders of the opposition. We

[1] Pierre Pelleprat, in *Voyages et Travaux des Missionaires*, Paris, 1857, vol. i. pp. 36-45. Pelleprat's contribution was originally published in Paris in 1655.

[2] *Col. Cal., Addenda*, 1574-1674, No. 194.

[3] Thurloe, vol. ii. p. 554.

find him in London, representing the needs of the colony, in 1656.[1]

In his account of the island he emphasized its strategical importance. Its position would enable an enemy to use it as a base for the conquest of the Leeward group, and, alone of the Caribbees, it possessed good harbours, which were much used for careening. It was healthy, well wooded and watered, with valuable saltponds and saltpetre deposits, and the beginnings of sugar, cotton and indigo plantations. Ashton's Royalist adventure had caused a loss of population, and the Navigation Acts were perpetuating the depression, especially as the Norwegian settlers would be satisfied only by a permission to trade with their own country. The Governor concluded by asserting that unless more labour were obtained, white or black, the island would be deserted.[2]

The merchants viewed with disfavour the demand for free trade, and replied with a petition to Cromwell for the supersession of Keynell by some better person.[3] They, like the inhabitants, charged him with neglect of civil and religious governance, and implied that he was responsible for the damage done by the Carib raiders. Ultimately the Committee of Trade reported that victuals should be allowed to go to Antigua custom free, the duties on its sugar and ginger should be on a reduced scale, the export of arms, clothing and servants should be facilitated, and all persons claiming land on the island should be compelled to plant it forthwith, any Protestants, foreign or English, being encouraged to settle.[4] These recommen-

[1] Rawlinson MSS., A. 29, ff. 376-406.
[2] C.O. 1/12, No. 68 (i).
[3] Add. MSS. 11411, f. 1.
[4] C.O. 1/12, No. 68 (iii).

dations were at least partially adopted; but the real development of Antigua made little progress until after 1667, when Major Byam and the refugees from the lost colony of Surinam made the island their home under the patronage of William, Lord Willoughby. Cromwell continued Keynell in the governorship, granting him a new commission in 1656.[1]

On a general view we may describe the condition of the English Caribbees on the eve of the Restoration as one of solid prosperity, comparing favourably with the achievements of the French, and yet more remarkable when contrasted with the results of the long Spanish occupation of the Greater Antilles. In the space of little more than thirty years five islands had been settled, valuable staples raised, and a great addition made to the mercantile and maritime power of the mother-country at a time when acute international competition in such matters was setting in. The century and a half which followed the plantation of the English West Indies was the era in which oceanic commerce was the prime factor in national greatness, just as the succeeding century and a half down to our own time has been the era of industrial enterprise. The early planters and merchants of the Caribbees had certainly played their part well in the national scheme; and, unlike many colonial pioneers, they had done so with a very high proportion of advantage to themselves. The time was now at hand when loose threads, political and economic, were to be gathered up, and the vexed questions of colonial governance and mercantile subordination were to be settled in the grand review of English affairs which followed upon the Restoration of Charles II.

[1] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 68.

IX

THE EARL OF WARWICK AND THE PEMBROKE PATENT

In 1638 the owners of the Pembroke Letters Patent, having allowed them to lie dormant since the seizure of Barbados by the Earl of Carlisle, began to show signs of activity. The grant, it will be remembered, conveyed to Pembroke the islands of Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago and Fonseca, under the title of Montgomery Province. So far as it concerned Barbados it had been ruled invalid in 1629, and Fonseca had no existence in fact; it was thus left clearly effective for Tobago and Trinidad only. On 22nd August, 1638, the Earl of Pembroke invited the Merchants Adventurers of Exeter to assist in the plantation of Tobago, for which purpose he had appointed a certain Major James Borthwick as his deputy.[1] Later in the year Borthwick wrote to the Mayor of Exeter on the same subject. His plan was that Exeter, Bristol and Cardiff should combine not only for the exploitation of Tobago, but also for that of Trinidad, Margarita, and the two imaginary islands of St. Bernards and Fonseca. As a beginning he invited the City of Exeter to supply a hundred skilled tradesmen and twenty women, the Earl engaging to grant land to the adventurers. Another

[1] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Exeter MSS.* (1916), pp. 41, 203.

document speaks of planting cotton, tobacco, ginger, sugar and indigo, and goes into detail concerning the weapons, clothing and other supplies which would be necessary.[1]

We have no record of the acceptance of these proposals, and the presumption from the silence of other authorities, and from the subsequent proceedings, is that they fell to the ground; for the next fact which appears is that the Earl of Pembroke sold his entire interest in the patent to the Earl of Warwick. Exactly when this transaction took place is not clear. Colonel Scott, the only authority who mentions the date, gives it as 9th April, 1638.[2] But this seems too early, in view of the Exeter correspondence described above; for there is here no apparent reason for secrecy about the transfer of rights as in the case of Carlisle's transfer to Willoughby in 1647. Scott was in other instances careless in his chronology, and it may well be that he should have said January, February or March, 1638, which would mean, by modern computation, 1639. The latest date upon the Exeter letters is 16th October, 1638, and the Earl of Warwick was in possession of the rights by the middle of 1639. Between these two limits, therefore, we must place the transfer. Warwick's designs upon Barbados at this period in conjunction with Captain Hawley may, as we have suggested in a previous chapter, have been the outcome of his acquisition of the Pembroke grant, and the Barbados scheme was also evolved in the early months of 1639. At some time in the course of that year he appointed Captain Robert Marsham as his Lieutenant-Governor for the whole Montgomery Province, and that officer lost no time

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 203-5. [2] Sloane MSS. 3662, f. 46.

in conducting an expedition to Tobago, where he arrived on 9th October.[1]

The English had already had considerable acquaintance with Trinidad, and rather less with Tobago. Ralegh's proceedings at the former island in 1595 are well known. In the early seventeenth century English traders habitually laded tobacco there by connivance of the Spanish colonists settled at St. Josephs on the north-west corner of the island. This Spanish colony was never more than an outpost, precariously maintained, and the greater part of Trinidad was in the hands of unsubdued Indian tribes, whom Scott classifies as Caribs, Arawaks and Sapoyes (or Nepoyes). The presence of the Spaniards was in one respect an advantage to English attempts, for the natives hated them and were thus disposed to be friendly to the English. In 1632 Sir Henry Colt, the owner of a plantation at St. Christopher, had made a voyage to Trinidad and established himself at Punta de Galera. But the Spaniards, for once under an active leader, attacked and took him, and destroyed his settlement.[2] Sir Thomas Roe made a stay at Trinidad in 1611, and we have already mentioned the visits of Warner and Robert Goddard in 1626.[3]

Tobago, although smaller and untenanted by Spaniards, was more difficult to colonize, for the Caribs of the northern islands found it a convenient place of assembly for their expeditions to the Main, and they never left intruders long undisturbed. We have one notice of an early English attempt to settle, which may be typical of others unrecorded. A certain clergyman of Puritan tendencies, the

[1] Sloane MSS. 3662, f. 48. [2] Add. MSS. 36322, ff. 208-219.

[3] See above, Chap. II. pp. 31 and 45.

Rev. Nicholas Leverton, went out to Barbados, where he soon grew weary of the profligate manners of the planters. He then joined a ship's company which designed to colonize Tobago. They landed, saw no Indians, and began a settlement. Some of the party set out to explore the island, but the Caribs fell upon them in the woods and picked them off one by one until only two or three survived. They returned to the plantation to find its occupants scattered and their boat gone. After further escapes they regained touch with their ship, which took them off and sailed away to Providence Island. Events recorded at that place help to fix the date of the Tobago attempt as in 1637 or a little later.[1]

At about the same time other Europeans were growing interested in Tobago. In 1636 a party of Zeelanders from Flushing made a settlement, but in the following year the Caribs, instigated by the Spaniards of Trinidad, drove them out. Next the Duke of Courland, godson of James I, made persistent attempts to colonize. He sent out an expedition in 1639 which conciliated the Caribs but succumbed to fevers. In 1642 he planted a second colony under a Dutch commander. This endured until 1650, when the survivors removed to the Pomeroon in Guiana. Again the Courlanders established themselves in 1654, at which time also a Dutch colony equipped by Adrian and Cornelius Lampsins occupied another part of Tobago. In 1659 the Courlanders finally withdrew, leaving the island to the Dutch. They held it until expelled by

[1] Edmund Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, 1802 edn., vol. i. p. 371. This work embodies contemporary evidence not now available. See also Newton's *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans*, pp. 254-5.

an English force in 1665, after which it remained a no man's land until well on in the eighteenth century.[1]

To return to the Earl of Warwick's proceedings: in 1639, as we have said, he appointed Captain Robert Marsham as his deputy throughout the region covered by the Pembroke grant, and sent him to make a beginning at Tobago. Marsham landed in October with between two and three hundred Englishmen, in all probability recruited from Barbados and Bermuda. At once the Caribs fell upon them, artfully hounded on by the Spaniards, who alleged that the English would ally themselves with the Arawaks and Sapoyes of Trinidad against the Caribs. Marsham died of wounds received in battle with these enemies, and the survivors of his colony removed in 1640 to Trinidad, where the Arawaks befriended them. Scott, who tells this story,[2] mentions also the presence of the Courlanders in 1639, but does not speak of any co-operation between the two settlements. Perhaps the Courlanders had already dispersed before the English arrived. Warwick sent a second expedition to Tobago in 1642. It was led by one Captain Marshall of Barbados, and was possibly three hundred strong. The settlers began to plant tobacco and indigo, but the Caribs from the north maintained ceaseless attacks, and after a year's trial Marshall gave it up. He and his men went off to Guiana in 1643 and planted on the Surinam river, where a massacre ended the undertaking two years later.[3]

[1] For the Dutch and Courlanders in Tobago see *The Dutch in Western Guiana*, by the Rev. G. Edmundson, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vol. xvi. pp. 643-7.

[2] 'Description of Tobago,' in Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 47b-48.

[3] *Ibid.*, and f. 40b.

Tobago, as is apparent from its history, was one of the worst sites on which to plant a colony so long as the Carib forces were free to pass in strength between the Main and the islands.

At Trinidad the first English colony consisted of the survivors of Marsham's plantation at Tobago. In the year of their settlement, 1640, the Earl of Warwick, probably unaware as yet of their removal from Tobago, empowered certain gentlemen to plant a separate colony at Trinidad and to choose their own Governor. They arrived in the course of 1640, selected a healthy site on the leeward side of the island near a stream which they called Warwick River, and successfully established themselves. These people were experienced planters from St. Christopher and other English islands. We learn the names of only two of their leaders, Major Jeremiah Hartley, whom they elected Governor, and William Drax, brother of the well-known planter of Barbados.[1] We hear nothing more of the Tobago survivors, and may presume that they were absorbed in the new settlement. Warwick took measures to sustain and control the undertaking. In March, 1641, the captain of a supply-ship for Providence was instructed to take his cargo to Trinidad if he should find that the Spaniards had captured Providence ; and a year later a letter from Bermuda, also to a great extent under Warwick's influence, mentions that many of the inhabitants have gone off to Trinidad with Captain Chaddock. Again, a privateer captain employed by Warwick was ordered to leave all captured negroes at

[1] The chief authority is Scott's 'Description of Trinidada,' Sloane MSS. 3662, ff. 43-47. Scott drew his information from William Drax, with whom he was personally acquainted.

' my island of Trinidad ' in 1643.[1] In 1641, also, Warwick attempted to reverse his first concession and appoint a Governor. He commissioned Captain William Fortescue, but the colonists felt themselves strong enough to refuse him and continue Hartley in office, a course in which Warwick acquiesced.[2]

The Earl was not content with a single settlement in Trinidad. He desired to force the pace and secure effective occupation of the whole island. The Spaniards had taken Providence by assault in 1641, and their expulsion from Trinidad would be a gratifying reprisal, for the latter island was larger and potentially much richer. He may have found also that experienced planters, although efficient for their task, were too independent for his taste, for we next find him sending out an expedition of home-bred Englishmen. Before considering its details we may glance at a curious prospectus issued during the Civil War, probably in 1643.[3] It is entitled ' Certain Inducements to Well Minded People who are here straitned in their Estates or otherwise : or, Such as are willing, out of Noble and Publike Principles, to transport Themselves, or some Servants, or Agents for them into the West Indies, for the Propagating of the Gospel and Increase of Trade.' There is no indication of authorship or of the locality of the proposed colony. After a great deal of vague Puritanical rhetoric it develops into a company prospectus on the usual ' purse or person ' terms. One sentence may

[1] *Col. Cal.*, pp. 318, 323, 324. [2] Scott, *ut. supra.*

[3] Joseph Sabin's *Reprints*, Quarto Series, No. 4, New York, 1865. The publisher's note states that the original was then in possession of the Rev. F. L. Hawks, was of extreme rarity, and had not been mentioned by any bibliographer. There is no copy in the British Museum.

be quoted as typical of the inducements held forth: 'Also pretious souls settled in these parts shall be exempted from the drudgery, which they are put to in England, and other places.' The author must have written with his tongue in his cheek.

Whether or not this was one of Warwick's methods of recruiting the unwary, it is certain that he was working for the colonization of Trinidad in 1644. On 20th April he conferred upon a London syndicate the right to plant 100,000 acres of land which they might choose anywhere in Trinidad provided that it should not be within twenty miles of Hartley's already existing colony. The syndicate numbered twenty persons, including some officers of the Parliamentary forces. One of them was Major Christopher Keynell, afterwards Governor of Antigua. What followed may be told in the words of Colonel Scott, the sole chronicler of the undertaking:

> 'Collonell John Holmesteed and the Associates . . . in pursuance of the said Comission did imbarque in severall Ships, a great number of Sober, Judicious People, bound for the Island Trinidada, who landed there January Anno 1644 [1645, n.s.] but fortuned to sett downe in a fertile peice of Ground, on the South syde of the Island, the Earth full of Springs, which sort of Land is alwayes unhealthfull at the first opening, being Cloyed with undegested Vapoures, besides it was the Leeward side of the Island, which barred them the Injoyment of the Naturall Trade Wind, or East North East Breeses of those parts: likewise that part of the Island endures the Cold Foggs that arrives from the Great River Oronoque, which the Trade Wind will not lett passe to the North and East Parts of the Island, and meeting with Repulse, falls downe to the South and Westerne part, and most of all in the Cod of that Bay, where those Gentlemen settled; all these things concurring to make these people unhappie (in the losse of their

> health) which they too late deserned, for such Violent Feavours seized them, that in a few Months the Liveing could scarce Bury the Dead. And those left, the yeare following deserted the Collonie they had began to settle, and embarqued some for Barbados, and others returned back againe for England. It was Observed, that in their greatest Extremities, the Arawacoes and Nepoyes Indians shewed them Extraordinary Kindnesse.'

Hartley's colony, Scott continues, had now existed for five years without any serious mortality, but the disaster to their neighbours determined them also to abandon the undertaking. They feared that the loss of so many men would give Trinidad an ill name and would encourage the Spaniards to attack them. Before leaving, Drax and some others went with Indian guides to take a further view of the interior. About thirty miles from the sea they came upon a valley 'covered with large Trees, whose Barke was yellow as Gold, and the Wood a dellicate Red, the Earth as fragrant, and neere the like smell of Damask Roses.' They were enchanted with the place, but their compatriots were already departing, and could not be persuaded to remain.

So ended the attempts upon Trinidad, which had promised well owing to the attitude of the Arawaks. These Indians, Scott says, had never forgotten Sir Walter Ralegh, who had shown them how to build fortified refuges against the Spaniards, and had given them many thousand iron arrow-heads such as they had never had before. The commodities of the island, as reported by the English of that time, were rich copper and iron deposits, gums, oils, balsams, dyewoods, shipbuilding timber, cocoa, maize, cotton, sugar, tobacco, pitch, sulphur, 'and other symtomes of rich Mines.' The pitch mentioned may be the vegetable product, for there is no especial mention

of the pitch lake, which one would certainly expect if the settlers had known of its existence.

The increasing complication of English affairs no doubt precluded Warwick from active attempts to exploit the Pembroke grant. But he made one more effort to get Tobago colonized by assigning his powers to a syndicate. On 12th August, 1647, he signed an agreement with Captain Thomas Middleton, a seaman, and two London merchants, Thomas Kendall and George Pasfield. These three persons, on condition that they began operations within twelve months, were to have 20,000 acres in Tobago, for which they were to pay nothing for the first three years, from the fourth to the tenth year one penny per acre, and thereafter threepence. They were to have power to choose a governor, to convene an assembly, and to organize a militia, the Earl retaining a general control over legislation. The settlers were to be English or such foreigners as would undertake allegiance to the Crown of England.[1] There is no evidence of any attempt to put this proposition into action, and it is fairly certain that no attempt was made ; for Scott was acquainted with some of the persons interested in these matters, and would hardly have omitted to record it.

The Pembroke Patent now drops out of the world of practical affairs. It was not cancelled nor was any notice taken of its continued existence at the Restoration settlement, although the Earl of Warwick's second son was living and bearing the title. It seems possible, indeed, that under it some person even to-day may have a theoretical right to the proprietorship of Trinidad under the Crown.

[1] Manchester Papers, Box 2, No. 425 (parchment deed). Scott, *ut supra*, gives a different version of the conditions.

X

THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT

CHARLES II landed at Dover towards the end of May, 1660, and his coming was the signal for the revival of the old controversies concerning the political status of the Caribbees and their inhabitants.

To the enjoyment of the lands of the colonies, or to a share in their revenues, there were five distinct claims: (1) The proprietary claim of Lord Willoughby and the Earl of Carlisle, based upon 'the second grant' of April, 1628, and the twenty-one years' transfer of February, 1647, which Carlisle admitted as valid; (2) The claim of the planters and the merchants connected with them for the recognition of their freehold rights in the soil, on the ground that the Carlisle patent was legally invalid; (3) The claim to Barbados derived from Sir William Courteen's pioneer work, and from the Pembroke patent of February, 1628, put forward in 1660 on behalf of the heirs and creditors of Courteen; (4) The claim of James, Earl of Marlborough, on account of the pension promised to his grandfather by the first Earl of Carlisle in consideration of the surrender of the Marlborough right to a share in the proprietorship; (5) The claim of the creditors of the first Earl of Carlisle for the payment of his debts to them out of the revenues of the islands.

Such was the complication which awaited the decision of Charles II, and which it would have taxed the wisdom

of Solomon to resolve to the satisfaction of all parties. One claim we miss which we might expect to see put forward, that of the Earl of Warwick as the actual holder of the Pembroke rights. The Warwick of 1660 was the second son of the Warwick whose doings have taken so prominent a place in the preceding chapters, and who had died in 1658. Either he did not think it worth while to urge his interest in Barbados, or he considered it as sufficiently covered by the Courteen claim above referred to. His rights to Trinidad and Tobago were, of course, not in question. His name is nowhere mentioned in the transactions now to be considered.

The first party to become active was that of Willoughby and Carlisle, with the result that the new government was rushed into a decision not only to make Willoughby Lord Proprietor of Guiana but also to confirm him in the control of the Caribbees in accordance with the Carlisle patent. On 4th July, therefore, a warrant was made out for the framing of the Guiana grant, and on 9th July the King addressed an open letter to Willoughby and the inhabitants of the islands, directing him to proceed instantly in person or by deputy to take up the government.[1] This decision, although immediately challenged, had the effect of making Willoughby the party in possession, and greatly strengthened his position in the subsequent negotiations, for the royal letter remained uncancelled until superseded by the general settlement three years later.[2]

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 483; there was an earlier letter to the same effect which has not been preserved.—See *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 6.

[2] C. S. S. Higham, *The Leeward Islands under the Restoration*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 13. Mr. Higham treats the Restoration

Opposition at once became manifest from two distinct quarters On 4th July, 1660, the King had appointed from the ranks of the Privy Councillors a Committee for Plantations. One of its members was the Secretary Sir Edward Nicholas, and behind him stood Edward Hyde, soon to be made Earl of Clarendon. Clarendon, as events were to show, was preparing to adopt a definite and constructive colonial policy, and he was strongly opposed to allowing Willoughby to unite in his own hands the government and virtual proprietorship of the Caribbees and that of Surinam with its possibilities of extension into other Guiana rivers The objection lay in the fact that Jamaica was to be retained as a Crown colony, the only one in the West Indies, that it was as large as South Wales and inhabited only by a few hundred Englishmen, and that for its speedy settlement the surplus from Barbados and the Caribbees was essential. Willoughby would naturally feel a greater interest in Guiana than in Jamaica and would be tempted to divert the Barbadian surplus to the former enterprise. These considerations were ever present in the mind of Nicholas, as appears by jottings in his own handwriting,[1] and there is no doubt that they rendered Clarendon the more ready to listen to objections urged against the Carlisle patent. The two questions of the Caribbees and Surinam thus acted as mutual brakes each upon the expediting of the other, for Willoughby fought hard against giving way upon either. Ultimately he had to compromise upon Surinam by admitting Clarendon's

settlement as the introduction to his subject. In the present chapter, a conclusion rather than a commencement, it is naturally viewed from a somewhat different standpoint.

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 80, etc.

son, Lawrence Hyde, to a half share in the proprietorship, and on that condition was allowed to enjoy the profits of the remainder of his twenty-one years' lease of the Caribbees.

The other quarter from which instant objection was raised to the confirmation of the Carlisle patent was that of the merchants and planters interested in the islands. A number of them were resident in and about London, and their watchfulness may be judged from the fact that although Willoughby received the King's letter only on 13th July, he was called before the Council to answer the objectors on the 16th.[1] Since both sides were unprepared with documentary evidence the hearing was adjourned until 26th July, and again on that date until 2nd August. The alarm of the planters at the revival of proprietary rights was due not only to the fact that they thought they would be more mildly governed by the Crown but also to the uncertain validity of many of their titles to their lands. The period of the introduction of sugar-planting, coinciding with that of the Civil Wars and the abeyance of proprietary authority, had seen extensive transferences of property, many of them of very dubious legality ; and the wealthy men now in possession quailed at the prospect of having to prove their rights. Their spokesmen in London therefore sought to strike a bargain, over the heads of the proprietors, by which the Crown should recognize all *de facto* ownership of land in return for a financial consideration in the form of a fixed revenue. To this end they were determined to discredit the Carlisle patent.[2]

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 483 ; *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. p. 296.

[2] Clarendon's *Life*, Oxford edn., 1759, pp. 490-6, gives a good exposition of the motives of the various parties and the progress

The production of evidence having been ordered for 2nd August, both sides appeared with their documents. Willoughby and Carlisle sent in the patents of 1627-8 and the deed of demise of 1647. The planters had been busy taking the depositions of veteran pioneers, and Thomas Kendall, their spokesman, produced statements by Simon Gordan, Thomas Paris and James Astrey, all formally sworn before a Master of Chancery.[1] Gordan testified that he had landed on Barbados about 1620 and found it unoccupied, and that in 1626 he had been one of the first colonists, set forth by Captain Henry Powell and 'one Mr. Munson' [presumably John Mounsey], 'without any manner of commission from his Majesty, the Lord of Carlisle, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Courteen, or any other person or persons whatsoever.' Paris said that he had settled at Barbados in July, 1628, that there was then no mention of any Carlisle patent, and that he and his friends occupied land by permission of John Powell; but he did not add that Powell had been appointed Governor by Sir William Courteen, although he can hardly have been unaware of the fact. Astrey gave similar evidence about St. Christopher: he and others had settled there in January, 1624, 'without any authority but their own'; and they had heard nothing of any proprietary rights until 1627 or 1628 when certain persons appeared to assert Carlisle's authority, 'which begot some disturbance in

of the settlement. As, however, it mentions no dates, and practically all its statements of fact are attested by documents from other sources, references will usually be made to the latter in preference. Clarendon is nevertheless an indispensable guide to the interpretation of the documents.

[1] C.O. 1/14, Nos. 25, 31, 32.

the said island.' Astrey also asserted that, when Carlisle's commissioners yielded St. Christopher to the Spaniards in 1629, he and forty others refused to submit, but stayed on and maintained the possession.

The trend of this evidence is apparent. It was designed to prove that the islands were colonized before the patents had been issued, which we now know to have been true; and the planters of 1660 hoped to upset the Carlisle claim by establishing this fact alone. Their contentions were as fatal to the Pembroke patent as to that of Carlisle, and they even suppressed the testimony which their witnesses could well have given concerning Courteen's enterprise. At the same hearing they read a petition to the Committee praying that the King should recall his letter of recognition to Willoughby, and that the case should then be determined by the law of England.[1] Clarendon is perhaps amplifying this information when he states that the planters proposed to proceed against the patent in the Court of Exchequer in the King's name but at their own expense, or alternatively, that the claimants under the patent might be left to prove their case at law.

The Committee for Plantations was not favourably impressed either by the evidence above quoted or by the suggestion for a trial at law. It preferred to keep the matter in its own hands and to seek further testimony, for already a third party was claiming to be heard. This consisted of the guardians of Sir William Courteen's grandson, then a minor, and of the creditors of his estate. Their acting representative was a certain John Darrell who had long been interested in the affairs of the family.[2] The first

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 486.

[2] Rawl. MSS., C. 94, unnumbered folio in middle of volume.

intimation of their activity is contained in an order of the Committee dated 6th August. It states that since some evidence has been put in on behalf of Mr. Courteen, but nothing has been authentically proved, nine witnesses are warned to attend for further examination on that day week.[1]

There was probably a further adjournment, for it was not until 20th August that the Courteen party finally unfolded their case. They produced a deposition of the late Captain Henry Powell, sworn before the Commissioners of Bankruptcy on 25th February, 1657, and another of Charles Hilliard, a planter, of the same date. Two living witnesses, John Dell and John Moone, also testified in person.[2] The purport of their evidence was to tell the story of Courteen's colonization of Barbados and its seizure by Carlisle and his mercantile friends, as narrated at large in an earlier chapter of this book. Darrell then repeated a conversation which had passed in 1647 between himself, Lady Courteen and the Earl of Pembroke, to the effect that Pembroke admitted his name in the patent to have been only a cover for that of Sir William; and a Mr. Knightly corroborated.[3] On this evidence the Courteen party insisted upon the priority of the Pembroke proprietorship, but more especially they claimed possession of certain estates actually planted by Sir William's men in 1627–8: the Corn Plantation, the Indian Bridge Plantation, the Fort Plantation, the Indian Plantation Eastward, and Powell's Plantation. John Darrell afterwards made an abstract of the whole story and swore to it on 6th September, 1660, before the same Master of

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 488.

[2] C.O. 1/14, Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 37.

Chancery as had taken the depositions of the planters' witnesses.[1]

The effect of these revelations must have been somewhat dismaying to the Committee, for they opened up the prospect of a prolonged and tortuous enquiry in which crowds of witnesses would be ready to swear to contradictory stories. The Government, also, was not interested in proving Courteen's proprietorship, but only in satisfying the two living claims of Willoughby and the planters, whose pretensions were of more than academic force. To allot the prize to a third party would be simply to pile up difficulties instead of finding a solution. The Committee therefore smothered the Courteen case in its infancy. How they did so, we can only guess; most probably they quoted Coventry's judgment of 1629 as final. But the result is plain, for we find no further reference to Courteen in the transactions of 1660-3, and ten years later his representatives were still vainly petitioning Parliament for redress.[2] Meanwhile, on 20th August, 1660, the Committee for Plantations resolved that Lord Willoughby ought to be restored to the condition he was in before he had been dispossessed by Cromwell [*sic*], and that Mr. Kendall and the planters should be left to seek their remedy at law.[3] This may be said to end the first stage in the contest, with Willoughby and Carlisle in the ascendant.

Willoughby now assumed the position of proprietor, although he could not go in person to the West Indies

[1] Shaftesbury Papers, Bundle 49, No. 2b. It is one of the clearest narratives of the early proceedings at Barbados.

[2] Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 602.

[3] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 489.

because of the threatened legal proceedings and the increasing objection to his combining the Surinam proprietorship with that of the Caribbees. In September a draft warrant authorizing him to proceed instantly to Barbados is endorsed by Nicholas, 'To be referred to the Committee of Plantations'; and it was not in fact completed.[1] Willoughby, however, did what he could to exhibit his power. On 24th September he sent a commission to Colonel Humphrey Walrond and the Council at Barbados, continuing them in their offices. Here it should be mentioned that Daniel Searle had resigned on hearing news of the Restoration, and that Colonel Modyford had taken over the governorship by authority sent him by the Council of State just before the landing of Charles II. Willoughby, however, had lost no time in ousting Modyford in favour of Walrond. In October Willoughby appointed his friend Colonel William Watts Governor of St. Christopher and Anguilla; and in December his secretary reached Barbados with the royal letter which authorized these proceedings.[2] A series of letters written by him on 19th February, 1661, to Walrond, Osborne of Montserrat, and Russell of Nevis, shows his increasing uneasiness about the operations of the planters' party in opposition to him; in each letter he seeks to show that the planters' true interest lies in maintaining the proprietorship.[3]

The planters' party in London was, in fact, still eager to fight, and the King's legal advisers assured him that in law the patent stood very little chance of being held valid.[4]

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1574-1660, p. 489. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 409, 494, 496.
[3] Add. MSS. 11411, pp. 28-32.
[4] Clarendon, *op. cit.*, p. 494; *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 83.

But, although there were objections to Willoughby's engrossment of too much power in the West Indies, there was a still greater objection to the public tearing-up of a long-standing instrument of colonial government on the ground that it had been illegal from the outset.[1] Such action might cause unpleasant reactions in the American colonies, and it was pretty sure to be the result of a trial at law. The winter of 1660–1 therefore saw the parties making ready for a new discussion before the King and the Privy Council.

In the meantime two new elements came into the contest. In November, 1660, the second Earl of Carlisle died suddenly without issue, leaving his proprietary claims to his cousin the Earl of Kinnoul, a Scottish Royalist who had beggared himself in the cause of Charles I. Kinnoul lost no time in putting his pretensions before the Government.[2] Somewhat earlier the creditors of the first Earl of Carlisle, under the indefatigable William Latham, revived their claim upon the island revenues in virtue of an assignment made on 30th December, 1649, of which the original is not now traceable.[3] The total amount due to them was ultimately assessed at £37,000, and they had furthermore spent £1200 in legal processes without receiving a penny. Clarendon speaks of another body of

[1] Clarendon, p. 495.

[2] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. p. 301, 29th Nov., 1660. Carlisle was buried in old St. Paul's. His funeral sermon, preached by Dr. Thomas Reeve, was printed in 1661 under the title of *A Cedar's Sad and Solemn Fall.* It is an eloquent composition, but yields no additional information upon his life.

[3] The creditors' petition is calendared as ? Feb., 1661; but internal evidence places it before the death of Carlisle; it also speaks of 'this time of public rejoicing for His Majesty's happy restoration,' as if that event were fairly recent.—C.O. 1/15, No. 21,

creditors for £50,000, but of them the official documents say nothing, and they were not included in the final settlement.

All these competitors continuing to pour in their claims upon the Government, an order in council was issued on 20th February, 1661, that they should deliver their evidence to the Attorney-General and attend the Privy Council on 1st March.[1] At that meeting all that happened was that the matter was remitted to the Attorney-General for his report.[2] Evidence, indeed, was now a subordinate factor, for all the parties had put forward all that they could find, and it was becoming clear that the motive of public policy already described would preclude the trial of the case in the courts. Energies were therefore now directed towards influencing the judgment which it would fall to the King and his ministers to pronounce.

On 1st March, 1661, the Barbados planters in London drew up a petition to the King protesting against the giving of any countenance to Willoughby's contentions and praying that the Caribbees might be taken directly under the rule of the Crown.[3] This was as much as they chose to put upon paper, but it is evident from another document that they had long since made a definite offer of payment for the privilege they were seeking. On 29th March, Colonel Walrond wrote to Nicholas from Barbados saying that he had heard that Mr. Kendall and Mr. Colleton were offering the King a duty of 4 per cent. on all the island commodities exported, if he would resume the patent and appoint Colonel Modyford Governor. Walrond went on to protest that Kendall and Colleton

[1] *A.P.C., Col.*, vol. i. p. 304.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 305.
[3] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 39.

were not empowered to make any such offer, and that Modyford was a traitor.[1] Since we must allow six weeks or two months for the news to have travelled to Barbados, it is plain that the offer was made not later than the beginning of February. Here we have the first mention of the solution ultimately adopted, and from Walrond's further remarks it appears that he did not oppose it in principle, but thought the figure too high. He went on to say that the resumption of the patent would be popular if the King exacted no more than the Earl had done—an elastic phrase depending for its meaning upon the date to which it referred. Personal considerations were also involved, for Walrond and the pure Royalists hated Modyford for his share in the surrender of 1652. Walrond and the Barbados Council developed their position in some measures which they laid before the Assembly on 4th July, 1661. They proposed: (1) to petition the King against the enumeration of sugar in the Navigation Act of 1660 and against the proposed 4 per cent duty, and to pray that they might have their lands confirmed in free and common socage; (2) to send a handsome present to the King; and (3) to despatch a representative with a sufficient sum of money to negotiate their business at Court.[2] Although Walrond quarrelled with the Assembly on other matters and dissolved it soon afterwards, he and his Council sent the petition as outlined above, with the statement that the tenure indicated 'was long since bargained and contracted with the former proprietor in a full assemblage of the country.'[3] This presumably is a reference to the agreement made between

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 60. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 129.

Huncks and the planters, and allowed by Carlisle, in 1640-1.[1]

These transactions show that the Barbadian leaders were very well informed of the trend of affairs in London. For during the same period all parties there were coming to the conclusion that the proprietorship was doomed, and that the chief problem was to accomplish its decease with as little scandal as possible. This meant that all the possessors of legal rights would have to be bribed not to assert them at law, and that the ultimate expense would fall upon the Government or the population of the islands; or, as Clarendon puts it in courtly phrase, His Majesty was advised that the patent was void, and very kindly declared that he would draw no benefit for himself until others should be satisfied. We see the outlining of a settlement on these terms in some memoranda by Nicholas and minutes of the original Committee for Plantations dated April and May, 1661. These suggest that Willoughby should be Governor (not Proprietor) of the Caribbees for the remaining seven years of his lease, with the enjoyment of half the revenues, the other half going to the creditors; and that he should negotiate with the island assemblies for a uniform duty to provide the money.[2]

Although decided in principle by the summer of 1661, the final settlement now hung in suspense for a long period. On Willoughby's part this was due to his insistence upon the Surinam proprietorship, which the Government were still disinclined to grant him in addition to control of the Caribbees. The objection was mentioned in both the docu-

[1] See above, Chap. VII. p. 146.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, Nos. 80, 83. A new Council for Plantations had been established on 1st Dec., 1660, but the older Committee seems to have remained in charge of the Caribbean matter.

ments cited above. The Earl of Kinnoul also could not be made to realize that his inheritance from Carlisle was practically valueless. His Royalism had rendered him almost a pauper, and in his indignation he spoke of appealling to the law and even of going out to the islands to make what he could of his rights under the patent.[1] Plainly he would have to be bought off if the raising of the uncomfortable question of the legality of the patent, with its vast retrospective implications, was to be avoided. Finally, the Earl of Marlborough was claiming consideration for the unpaid pension due to his father and grandfather from the year 1627. There is no document to show when he first became clamorous, but the fact is recorded by Clarendon and admitted in the final adjustment. Active negotiations on all these points must have been carried on during 1661–2, but they have left scarcely any trace in the records. Then, in the latter half of 1662, we come within sight of a conclusion.

On 5th June the Committee resolved that a patent should be prepared for Willoughby to be Governor of the Caribbees on the financial terms already indicated, and the minute remarks that the creditors, having waited so long, will probably be thankful to take one-half or one-third of what is owing to them. The Surinam difficulty was still unsettled.[2] In due course the Attorney-General received his orders, and on 18th November the patent passed the seals.[3] The term of office was for seven years from Christmas, 1662, with enjoyment of a moiety of the revenues, the other moiety going to the Crown. It now remained to dispose of the Crown's share. Kinnoul was

[1] Clarendon, *op. cit.*, p. 495.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 309.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 387.

by this time convinced of the futility of resistance and persuaded that his best policy was to sell his interest for what he could get. He therefore surrendered the patent into the King's hands. Clarendon gives no date for this, nor is there any state paper containing the information, but the author of the *Memoirs of Barbados* says: 'His Majesty accordingly, on the 25th of December, 1662, was invested with the Earl of Carlisle's Right.'[1] To adjust the remaining claims required another six months, with the result that the final decision was promulgated only on 13th June, 1663.

In the form of an Order in Council it stated that, although His Majesty was advised that he might legally avoid the patent granted to the Earl of Carlisle, he was nevertheless pleased to order as follows. The revenues of the Caribbees were to be divided into two equal parts, the one to be received by Lord Willoughby during the remainder of his lease, the other to be disposed in the following shares: £500 a year to the Earl of Marlborough for his life and for the life of his uncle William Ley; £500 a year to the Earl of Kinnoul until the creditors should be satisfied and thereafter £1000 a year for ever to him and his heirs in consideration of the surrender of the patent; and lastly, to the creditors the remainder of the revenue until two-thirds of their claim should have been paid, they having voluntarily abated the other third. The entire revenue, with the exception of the Kinnoul pension, was ultimately to revert to the Crown as the various claims should become satisfied.[2]

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 32.

[2] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, No. 482; and *A.P.C., Col.*, i. pp. 362-5, which gives the complete text. It is doubtful whether the

About a month before the date of this order the Surinam question had also been decided by the partition of the proprietorship between Willoughby and Laurence Hyde. Willoughby was thus at liberty to sail for the West Indies and carry out the delicate task of negotiating with the island Assemblies for the revenue which was to finance the settlement of 13th June. He left England before the end of June and reached Barbados by the middle of August, 1663. On the 18th he presided at a meeting of the Barbados Council, and a week later he convened the Council and Assembly in one body, explaining how expensive it had been to the King to purchase the patent, and inviting them to show their gratitude by settling a revenue.[1] On 10th September he was able to report to the King that the Barbadians had agreed to an export duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.[2], although the Act embodying the decision did not pass the Assembly until two days later. Before granting the duty it recited the considerations upon which the grant was based; that His Majesty had purchased the proprietary rights; that all proprietary dues, rents and acknowledgments were henceforward cancelled; and that all land titles were to be held good, in spite of existing defects, in free and common socage of the Crown, on payment of a yearly grain of Indian corn if demanded.[3] In March, 1664, Willoughby sailed for the Leeward Islands.

creditors actually received anything under this settlement. The war of 1665-7 absorbed all the revenue, and as late as 1682 they were still unsatisfied. The Kinnoul pension was paid out of English funds in default of revenue from the Caribbees.

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, Nos. 534, 544. [2] *Ibid.*, No. 561.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 563; and *Memoirs of Barbados*, pp. 32-6. The author of the *Memoirs* notes that this Act was passed by the old proprietary Assembly.

In the course of the summer he called at each island in turn, and obtained from each Assembly a similar Act granting 4½ per cent. duty in return for the cancellation of proprietary rights.[1] With the completion of his tour the proprietary period was at an end, and the islands had become Crown colonies.

An interesting point emerges from the settlement, namely, that the constitutional rights of the colonies concerned depended upon no formal act of the English government or legislature, unless indeed we are to regard them as established by virtue of the powers accorded in the Carlisle patents. The Assembly of Barbados is traceable with fair certainty to the illegal proceedings of Captain Hawley in 1639. His successors, Huncks and Bell, appear to have recognized it with the consent of the proprietor, although there is no evidence that consent was ever formally given. The Articles of Surrender of 1652 involved the Commonwealth in a formal recognition of the constitution, but nothing that the Commonwealth did was reckoned valid after the Restoration. Charles II's government tacitly acknowledged the existence of the Assembly and in their instructions to Willoughby conceded its power to control taxation. The same may be said of the Leeward Islands, with the addition that their representative institutions are even less likely to have been framed with the consent of the proprietors, since they appear to have been evolved during the Civil Wars and the Interregnum. In their origin, therefore, these colonial constitutions, in so far as they were representative, were unwritten and based upon the English custom of the time.

[1] *Col. Cal.*, 1661-8, Nos. 764, 981, etc.

The proprietary period in the Caribbees lasted, from the first grant to the resumption, thirty-six years. But proprietary rule was effective only for the first sixteen years—we may date its practical end from the establishment of Warwick's Commission for plantations in 1643, and his immediate grant to the colonists of exemption from all taxation save that necessary for the support of their own governments. It is chiefly from the record of those sixteen years, therefore, that we have to draw the materials for our verdict upon the proprietary régime.

That it was harsh and unsympathetic, greedy and often unjust, we have quoted evidence to prove; yet that it was efficient is implicit in the whole story, for Barbados and St. Christopher flourished at a more rapid rate than did any other colonies of their time. They may not have owed much gratitude to their rulers, but at least they could not complain of folly and weakness in their conduct of affairs. Success flowed principally from the favourable conditions of the time, and from the application of the lessons of experience gained in other colonial undertakings. Amongst the conditions we may count the existence of a market for planters' products; the existence of unoccupied islands suitable for their production; and the state of English society which produced at the same time a sufficient body of emigrants of the right type, and a sufficient fund of capital available for overseas investment. Land, capital, and labour, these were the three elements which Gibbon Wakefield defined in after days as necessary for successful colonization; and in the Caribbees in the seventeenth century they were present in suitable proportion.

But with all this the early history of Virginia shows that it was possible to go wrong, and to incur a terrible loss of life, money and prestige ; and here we may seek the positive virtues of Caribbean management. The London merchants who stood behind the Earls of Carlisle, and the men of action who represented them in the colonies, avoided the errors of the past. The joint-stock organization of the Virginia Company had led to the snare of a communistic organization in its colony, with loss of keenness and efficiency only remedied by a crushing military discipline. In the Caribbees from the outset the planters, however plundered by the interests at home, had at least a residuum of their own advantage for which to work ; and the merchants never showed any inclination to merge their individual freedom into the bondage of a joint-stock corporation like that which attempted to exploit the French islands. English West India companies, not indeed mainly for colonization but for privateering against Spain, were more than once proposed during this period, but each time the scheme died for lack of real support. Another error avoided by the rulers of the Caribbees was that of premature dispersion of effort. To the proprietorship, with every island in the chain conveyed in its Letters Patent, the sight of Frenchmen establishing themselves must have been a temptation to indulge in a race to plant everywhere at once. But the mercantile element kept its head, saw one island prosperous before attempting another, and proceeded in the main by the correct method of pioneering with experienced men instead of shipping hordes of green hands from England to die in untried surroundings. All this may have been largely instinctive and automatic, but instances

exist to show that the reverse was possible and might easily have been adopted had less steady brains been in control. One positive virtue of the proprietary and mercantile management was at least drawn from the Virginian misfortunes—no shipload of emigrants ever sailed without sufficient supplies to tide them over the period of establishment ; and the rule seems to have been enforced that planters must grow their own foodstuffs as well as crops for export.

Proprietary rule was, in its best days, efficient ; but it never gained the hold upon its subjects that the Lords Baltimore gained in Maryland. The West Indians hated it for its rapacity, and even their Royalism could not keep them loyal to their Royalist proprietors. It was therefore inevitably a transitory phase, destined to pass away as soon as the population of the islands gained sufficient strength and wealth to try a fall with it. The Civil War in England merely hastened a process which could not long have lagged behind the introduction of sugar-planting even had the most profound contentment reigned throughout the rest of the Empire.

APPENDIX I

Chancery documents throwing light upon the early history of Barbados

(1) Chancery Proceedings, Ch. I., C 60/ No. 38 (i).

' Sept. 9, 1629. Bill of Complaint of James, Earl of Carlisle, Marmaduke Rawden, William Perkins & Alexander Banister, merchants, Captain Charles Wollferston & Captain William Deane of London, gentlemen.'

[Opens with a recapitulation of Carlisle's patents of 1627 and 1628, to show his rights over Barbados] '. . . And the said Earle purposing to make and setle a plantacon and colonie in the said Island of Barbados for the establishing of Christian religion according to the profession of the Church of England And for the advancement and enlargement of his Ma^ts^ dominions in the said partes beyond the seas and the generall good of this kingdome and the trade and merchandize thereof did in Aprill one thousand six hundred twentie eight upon certain contracts and agreements had and made between the said Earle and the said Marmaduke Rawdon Will^m^ Perkins and Alexander Banister then and yet being a companie limitted amongst themselves for the beginning and setleing a plantacon in the said Island, give licence power and authoritie to the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm Perkins and Alexander Banister to send over into the said Island such and soe manie psons as he or they should thinke fitt and agreed vpon to make and setle a plantacon and to take with them such pvisions of victualls clothes and other necessaries as were or should be fitt to be vsed by them vpon the said Island, And likewise the said Earle did then giue and grante full power and authoritie to the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm Perkins and Alexander Banister,

that they might att theire good will and pleasure nominate and choose such p'son or p'sons to be gouerno^{r} of the said companie and the said plantac̄on as to them shall seem most fitting vpon wch agreements the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister by the app'bac̄on and allowance of the said Earle did nominate and appoint the said Captain Charles Wollferston to be Governo^{r} and commando^{r} of the said Colonie and of the p'sons to be sent ouer by the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister, And therevpon the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister did in the said month of Aprill send ouer the said Captain Wolferston and four score p'sons or thereabouts with him to the said Island wth authority from him the said Earle and the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister and then sent wth the said governo^{r} sufficient p'vision victualls clothes and other things of a great value for fourteen monethes p'vision and the said Captain Charles Wollferston did land in the said Island wth the said p'sons in June one thousand six hundred twentie eight. And in a short time after his said landing did sett the said p'sons on worke by way of plantac̄on vpon certaine grounde in the said Island now called the Peisie plantac̄on in cutting vpp the said woods there growing for the p'pareing the said land to be planted vpon in building and makeing of houses and other p'visions for the planting of tobacco and other comodities And alsoe the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister did the same yeare send ouer ffortie two men more to the said Captain Wollferston to vse and imploy them in the said plantac̄on wth the like p'visions for theire victualls and clothes and other necessaries for one whole yeare And the said Captain Wollferston did the same yeare receiue the said fortie two p'sons att the said Island and did in like maner imploy them for the p'pareing of land to plante vpon, all wch did stand yo^{r} lo^{pps} said orato^{rs} the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister in four thowsand or thereabouts, And the said Earle in August one thowsand six hundred twentie eight intendinge the generall setlement of the said Island and

the good goverment thereof did in the same moneth att his owne charge send one George Moll and Godfrey Havercampe Esq^rs to the said Island in a shipp of the said Earles with power and authoritie to appointe ordaine and make such p'son to be governo^r of the said Island vnder him the said Earle as to them should seem meet And likewise to declare such lawes and ordinances for the good gouerment of the said Island and the inhabitants there as they should thinke fitt being agreable and not contrarie to the lawes of England And likewise the said Earle sent with the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe twentie p'sons to be sett downe in the said Island to plante and setle there for the said Earle And the said Earle was at the charge of five thowsand pounds in sending out the said shipp and the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe and the twentie p'sons aforesaid with p'visions fitt for them And the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe did in or about October last one thowsand six hundred twentie eight come to the said Island and landed there with the said twentie p'sons and did appoint and sett them on a certain parcell of land for to plante vpon for the said Earle now called [blank] and did then contract and agree with one Richard Leonard then inhabiting in the said Island to paie the said Earle one thousand pounds sterling for the p'fitt of the labors of the said twentie p'sons on the said plantac̃on last named for one yeare then next ensueing And likewise the said Moll and Mr. Havercampe did according to the generall power given to them by the said Earle nominate and appointe the said captain Wollferston to be governour or captain generall of the said Island vnder the said Earle And all the planto^rs wch then were on the said Island being then of the number of [blank] p'sons did at a courte houlden by the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe by vertue of theire said comission and authoritie from the said Earle in October one thowsand six hundred twentie eight acknowledge the said Earle to be the lord and owner of the said Island vnder his Ma^tie and did then consent vnto and agree with the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe to paie to the said Earle the twentith parte of all the p'fitts ariseing and accrueing in the said Island wch were to be transported

from thence and all other dueties customes and paiements wch did or should grow due for the same either in the said Island or in this kingdome And did all of them subscribe theire names therevnto in the said moneth of October att the Island aforesaid And the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe did then make declaracon of certain lawes and ordinances for the good goverment of the said Island, to wch all the inhabitants did agree and consent and after that all the said inhabitants in the said Island had subscribed the right of the said Earle to the said Island and to the paiement of the said dueties and to be subject to the said Earles goverment there and to the said governor thereof, the said Mr. Moll and Mr. Havercampe did departe from the said Island giveing authoritie to the said Captain Wollferston and the said Mr. Leonard or one of them to receiue all such dueties as did or should grow due in the said Island for the vse of the said Earle and to send the same into England, And after that the said Captain Wollferston was made governor of the said Island as aforesaid and had taken the gouerment thereof vpon him accordinglie, he the said Wollferston did keepe the plantors and inhabitants there in good order and did imploy the said p'sons sent vnto him by the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm Perkins and Alexander Banister in planting of tobacco And the said Leonard did likewise imploy the said Earles twenty men in the like plantacon soe that the said Marmaduke Rawdon Willm Perkins and Alexander Banister did accomte that this instant yeare one thousand six hundred twentie nine there would have been raysed and sent vnto them by the labours of theire said men sent ouer as aforesaid three score thowsand waight of good and marchantable tobacco wch is in p'porcon according to the plantacon and getting of other plantors of the same number in the said Island ratablie, wch said three score thousand pound waight of tobacco would have yielded tenn thousand pounds sterling at the least. But now soe it is maie it please yor good lopp that the said Earle hopeing to have receiued the said one thousand pounde sterling of the said Leonard for the labors of his said twentie men at the end of the said yeare wch is and wilbe ended in October next and the twentith parte of all

the tobaccoes goods and merchandize wch were planted and reaped in the said Island by the said planto^{rs} and inhabitants this last yeare wch did and doth amounte to the summe of five thowsand pound sterling, that one John Powell and Henry Powell gentlemen confederating pratiseing and combineing themselves with S^{r} Willm̄ Courteen of London knight and John Mounsey of London esq^{r} and diverse others whose names are yet not knowne to the said Earle to defeat the said Earle and the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister and also the said Willm̄ Deane whoe likewise then had a plantac̄on of eight men in the said Island of all theire goods p'fitts and comodities wch did or should arise of the said severall plantac̄ons and the labo^{rs} of the inhabitants and planto^{rs} as aforesaid, and to that end in December last they the said John Powell Henrie Powell Sir Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey by theire said practise and combinanac̄on did in December last at London aforesaid agree that the said Henry Powell should att the charges of the said S^{r} Willm̄ Curteen and Mr. Mounsey be sent ouer in a shipp with diverse other p'sons for his ayde and strength to the said Island of Barbados, and that he should goe armed and p'pared with powder shott and munic̄on for takeing of the said Island by force from the said Captain Wollferston and other the planto^{rs} there and to imprison him and the said Captain Willm̄ Deane and all other p'sons in the said Island that would not be obedient to the said Henry Powell at his comeing to the said Island and agree and subscribe that John Powell the younger then and yet in the said Island should be sole governor and commander thereof and that he should receiue all the p'fitts and dueties ariseing or accrueing to the said Earle by theire said labo^{rs} as aforesaid to be brought ouer by the said Henry Powell to the said John Powell S^{r} Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey for theire owne vses, According to wch combinac̄on practise and conferacie the said Henry Powell with diverse p'sons in Januarie last or thereabouts did sett forth in a shipp of the said S^{r} Willm Curteens and Mr. Mounsey or one of them from the porte of London to the said Island and the said Henry Powell and his said companie did on the six and twentith day of ffebruary

last one thowsand six hundred twentie eight come in the said shipp to the said Island of Barbados and there landed and the next daie being the seauen and twentith daie of ffebruarie p'tending that the said Henry Powell had some matters of weight to speake with the said Captain Charles Wollferston aboard and that he had an order or comission from the lords of the Counsell to shew vnto him, he the said Wollferston and the said Captaine Willm̄ Deane wth him came to the said Henry Powell to the house of the said John Powell the younger in the said Island, and the said Henry Powell and John Powell the younger the same time (vizt) the seauen and twentith of ffebruary aforesaid did wth diverse other p'sons sodainlie take and seize vpon the p'sons of the said Captain Wollferston and Captain Deane and caused them to be put and tyed in Chaynes of Iron and p'sently afterwards (vizt) vpon the eight and twentith daie of ffebruarie as aforesaid the said John Powell the younger and Henry Powell by the practise and combinac̄on and confederacie of the said John Powell the elder Sr. Willm̄ Curteen and Mr. Mounsey as aforesaid did call forth all the inhabitants and planto^{rs} in the said Island together And the said John Powell the younger by the practise and combinac̄on aforesaid did then declare himself to be governo^{r} and captaine generall of the said Island and that all such tobacco in the said Island as was made or gotten by anie planters either vpon the said Earle's plantac̄on or the plantac̄on of the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister and Wm̄ Deane should be taken into his howse and all the lands of the said three seuerall plantac̄ons should bee seized and taken from them wch said lands and tobacco he and the said Henry Powell by the practise combinac̄on and confederacie of the said Willm̄ Curteen John Mounsey and John Powell the elder in the same moneth of ffebruarie 1628 take into his and theire custodies all the said Tobaccoes of the growth of the said plantac̄on of the said Marmaduke Rawden W^{m} Perkins & Alexander Banister amounting to twentie thowsand pounds weight of the value of five thowsand pounde sterling and did then and there dispossesse the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister and theire said seruants of and from

the said plantac̄on and destroyed theire tobacco plants and other merchandizes then by them planted wch would have been ripe and readie to be reaped and gotten in this instant August one thowsand six hundred twentie nine to the damage of them the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister of tenn thowsand pounds sterling or thereabouts, And likewise the said Henry Powell att the same time by the combinac̄on aforesaid did take the said tobacco then being on the growth of the said plantac̄on of the said Earles and made and planted by his said twenty men to the value of two thowsand pounds sterling, and then and there did take away from the said Island one hundred thowsand pound waight of tobacco or the growth of the said Island the twentith whereof was and is due and paieable to the said Earle as a rent or duetie for the vse of the said land in the said Island wherein the same was planted as aforesaid, And alsoe did then and there take a thousand two hundred waight of tobacco of the said Willm̄ Deanes and seized vpon seauen hundred weight more being planted in the said Island by his said seruants, And likewise then and there by the practise combinac̄on and confederacie aforesaid did destroy all the plantac̄ons of the said Island and disturbed and hindred the said planto^{rs} from theire worke and labor in the said plantac̄ons in the said Island to the p'iudice of the said Earle of six thowsand pound sterling, All wch said tobaccoes and merchandize the said Henry Powell did in the said shipp of the said Sir Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey in June last bring into the porte of London, and haue laid the same in his Ma^{ts} custome house and haue sett severall markes vpon the same to collour and hide theire said abuses and iniuries done to the said Earle and the rest of yo^{r} l^{pps} said orato^{rs}, And yo^{r} lo^{pps} said orato^{rs} Charles Wollferston and Willm̄ Deane had by the practises and combinac̄ons aforesaid taken from them by the said Henry Powell and brought into England tenn thowsand pound waight of tobacco more and the said Willm̄ Deane hath his twelue men taken from him in the said Island by the said Henry Powell and John Powell the younger by the practise and combinac̄on aforesaid to his damage of two thowsand

pounds And allsoe the said Henry Powell by the practise and combinac̄on aforesaid did att the said Island of Barbados in or about March last forciblie breake open the house of the said Captaine Wollferston at the Island aforesaid and did then and there ransacke the same, and maliciouslie tooke awaie all the warr^tts^ comissions and other authorities wherebie yo^r^ said orato^r^ captain Charles Wollferston had power and authoritie to governe and comand the said Island and the plantac̄on of the said Marmaduke Rawden Willm̄ Perkins and Alexander Banister and diverse bookes of accompt and other writeinge wch lay dispersed in the said house, and likewise tooke awaie severall plantes of a great number being the goods of yo^r^ said orator Charles Wollferston to his damage of one thowsand poundes In tender consideac̄on whereof and for that the said Henrie John Powell the elder S^r^ Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey by theire practises combinac̄ons and confederacies have taken the said goods tobacco and other merchandize of and from the said Island being wthin his Ma^ts^ obedience and parcell of his dominions of the crowne of England from the said Earle and the rest of yo^r^ lo^pps^ orato^rs^ wch is to theire great damage and losse as aforesaid, And for that the said Earle and the rest of yo^r^ lordshipps orators have noe remedie by the strict rules of the comon lawes of this realme to relieue themselves in the p'miss^es^ for that noe certain ac̄con can be brought or laied here in England where the said Henry Powell John Powell the elder S^r^ Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey now be resident for redressing of the said wrongs and iniuries, And likewise for that the said Earle and the rest of yo^r^ orato^rs^ haue not witnesses now in England to make proofe of the wrongs iniuries and losses done to them and euerie of them respectivelie as aforesaid, And likewise for that the said comission, warr^tts^ books of accompt and other the writeings aforesaid were not sealed or locked vpp in anie bagg or chest nor the dates and contents of them knowne to yo^r^ orato^r^ the said Charles Wollferston whereby he maie bring his ac̄con at com̄on law, And for that the said Earle and yo^r^ said orato^rs^ hope that the said Henry Powell John Powell the elder Sir Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey will confesse the

truth of the p'misses vpon theire severall oathes, And to the end the said Earle and the rest of yo^{r} orato^{rs} maie be relieued in equitie before yo^{r} lo^{pp}, and that the said tobacco maie be sequestered vntill the heareing and determining of the p'misses, May it therefore please yo^{r} lo^{pp} the p'misses considered to grante the said Earle and other yo^{r} lo^{pps} said orato^{rs} his Ma^{ts} gracious writt and writts of subpoena to be directed to them the said John Powell the elder Henry Powell Sir Willm̄ Curteen and John Mounsey thereby comanding them and everie of them at a certain daie and vnder a certaine paine therein to be limitted p'sonallie to be and appeare before yo^{r} good lo^{pp} in his Ma^{ts} high courte of Chancery then and there to answere the p'misses, And further to stand and abide such order and direc̄on in the p'misses as to yo^{r} hono^{r} shall seem meet.'

(2) Chancery Proceedings, Ch. I., C 60/No. 38 (ii).

This is the answer of Sir William Courteen and John Mounsey to the above, delivered on 26th Oct., 1629. It denies all knowledge of or responsibility for the several matters of complaint. It denies also any conspiracy, although it admits the despatch of Henry Powell on a purely mercantile voyage. The only historical evidence of any importance occurs in the following sentence: 'John Powell [the elder] . . . had discovered the said Island of Barbados and was the ffirst person (as theis defend^{ts} were informed) that did discover the same Island and did sett vpp his ma^{ties} standard there to the honor of this nation and to the increasing of his Maiesties dominions.'

(3) Chancery Proceedings, Ch. I., C 58/No. 4.

'xxviij Octobris 1629. The Answeare of John Powell one of the defendts to the Bill of Complt of the Right Honble James Earle of Carlyle Complt.

This Defendaunt saueinge vnto hymselfe nowe and at all tymes heereafter all Advauntages of Exception to the Incertainetie & Insufficiencye of the said Bill of Complt ffor Answeare therevnto saith That hee beleeueth yt to bee true that his Maiestie did by his seu'all letters Pattents

the one beareinge date the seconde of June in the Third yeare of his Ma^ts^ Raigne & the other bareinge date the seauenth day of Aprill in the ffourth yeare of his Ma^ts^ Raigne graunte vnto the Right hon^ble^ the Compl^t^ the seu'all Islandes and Territories in the said seu'all letters Pattents respectiuely mentioned with such priuileges & Immunities as in and by the same are expressed the Certainetie wheareof hee cannott declare, for that hee had noe notice of the said graunte vntill after his Retourne from those p'tes and Terrytoryes in the Bill mentioned But saith that hee knoweth not that the said hono^ble^ Earle Compl^t^ did make any entry into the said Islande called Barbadoes by virtue of the said Letters Pattents or that there was any agreem^t^ made betweene the said hono^ble^ Compl^t^ & the said Marmaduke Rawden William Perkins & Alexander Banister or that the said hono^ble^ Compl^t^ gaue vnto them any suche libertie or authoritie as in the said Bill is alleaged, neither doth this defendaunt knowe what authoritie they or any of them gaue to the said Charles Wolferstone in the Bill mentioned But this defend^t^ saith That before the Letters Pattents in the Bill mentioned this defend^t^ att his owne costes & charges and att the costes of other merchaunts sett foorth a voyage to the said Islandes in a Shippe called the William & John which was fraught with all prouision for plantac̄on of that Island and sent in the same about 80^tie^ men vnder the Command of Henry Powell Captaine thereof and shortly after and longe before any of the letters Patents in the Bill mentioned this defend^t^ himselfe did sett foorth another voyage in a Shipp & a Pinnas fraught with like prouic̄ons & one hundred men vnder the comaund of this defend^t^ whoe aryued there in the moneth of July in the second yeare [*sic*] of his Ma^ts^ Raigne, & after his retourne from thence the Right hono^ble^ Phillip Earle of Mountgomery by a lawfull graunte as hee takes it vnder his hande & seale beareinge date the eighteenth day of december in the fourth yeare of the Raigne of our Soueraigne lord Kinge Charles thereby Recyteinge his Ma^ts^ Letters Pattents beareinge date the ffyue & Twentieth day of ffebruary in the third yeare of his said Ma^ts^ Raigne whereby his said Ma^tie^ did graunte vnto the said Earle

& his heyres for eū the Island of Barbadadoes [*sic*] als Barbadoes & other Islandes in the prouince of Mountgomy in the West Indies & the Isletts within tenn leauges of the shore of the said Islandes w^th^ diūs libertyes & priuiledges Royalties Regallities & p'heminences therevnto belonginge did assigne depute & authorize hym this defend^t^ to bee his deputie & gouernour of the said Islandes & to Rule & gouerne the Inhabitantes of the same & to p'fourme & execute suche thinges in the gouernm^t^ there as in certaine Articles agreed vppon betwixt the said Right hono^ble^ Earle & this defend^t^ weare contryued by virtue whereof this defendaunt did att his greate Costes & charges & att the coste & Charges of sundry Merchauntes sett foorth a voyage to the saide Islandes and did carry thither aboue one hundred men to make a plantac̄on in the said Island of Barbudoes als Barbados whoe carryed with them a deputac̄on from the said Earle to John Powell this defendts sonne to bee the goūno^r^ of the said Island & the said Henry Powell did there arryue in the moneth of ffebruary in the ffourth yeare of his Ma^ts^ Raigne as this defend^t^ hath heard And did there as hee beleeueth endeauo^r^ themselues in the said plantac̄on in suche manner as this defend^t^ beinge (as hee hopeth to manifest to this hono^ble^ Co^rte^) the ffirst Planter, had form̄ly done And the hono^ble^ Compl^t^ after the Letters Pattentes in the Bill mentioned to bee graunted to the hono^ble^ Compl^t^ direct his letter to this defend dated the ffourth day of Aprill one Thousand sixe hundred Twentie & eight thereby encourageinge this defend^t^ to proceede in the said Plantac̄on as by the said letter ready to bee shewed to this honorable Courte more plainely appeareth But what the said Henry Powell or John Powell p'ticularly did in the said Island this defend^t^ cannott expresse haueinge euer since remained in England either concerninge the apprehen̄on surprise or imprisonm^t^ of the said Wolūston or Deane or any the pc̄eedinges in the said Island only saith that there was retourned into England about the quantitie of Three Thousand waight of Tobaccoe w^ch^ was a smale p'porc̄on in respect of the number of men w^ch^ weare there imployed by the merchauntes and this defend^t^ w^ch^ adventured thither. And all the Tobaccoe by the shipp

retourned as hee verily beleeues was seysed by the now Compl^t^ and nowe is deteyned by the plt But this defend^t^ hopeth that this hono^ble^ Courte will conceaue yt fitt that this defend^t^ & the merchauntes w^ch^ adventured with hym beinge the ffirst Planters, and the said Islande of Barbadoes beinge none of the Carribe Islandes & soe not intended to bee within the Complts graunte this defendaunt should not bee debarred of the profitt which aryseth out of his & his merchauntes proper adventures & labo^r^ they haueinge expended neere the vallue of Tenn Thousand poundes in the said plantation But this defend^t^ vtterly denyeth any Combination with the other defendts to take the plts Tobaccoe or to destroy theire Tobaccoe or other merchaundize or to disturbe the Planters from theire worke And denyeth that the said Charles Wolferston or Deane had by any practize of this defend^t^ any Tobacco taken from hym & brought into England or that to his knowledge the said Wolferstones house was broken open and ransacked and his warrauntes and Authorities whereby hee gouerned the said Island taken away or any bookes of Accountes or any plantes as in the Bill is surmysed without that that his excellent Ma^ties^ order by any Letters Pattentes graunte vnto the hono^ble^ Compl^t^ the said Island of Barbadoes wheare this defend^t^ ffirst planted & from whence the Tobaccoe now remaineinge in the Custome house was brought But another Island called Barbadoes neere to the Island of S^t^ Christophers as this defendaunt verily beleeueth And without that any suche benefitt was or could bee made of the said Island as in the Bill is suggested And without that that any other matter or thinge in the said Bill of Compl^t^ conteined materiall or effectuall to bee by him this defend^t^ Answeare vnto And not heerein by hym sufficiently Answeared confessed & avoyde Trauersed or denyed is true to this defendauntes knowledge All which matters and thinges this defend^t^ is and wilbee ready to averre and proue as this most hono^ble^ Co^rte^ shall awarde And most humbly prayeth to bee hence dismissed with his reasonable Costes & Charges in this behalfe most wrongfully susteyned.'

APPENDIX II

The Contents of Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. G. 4, 15.

Ff. 1-4. Blank.

5. Original deed of demise from the Earl of Carlisle to Lord Willoughby of the Caribbee Islands for twenty-one years.

14. Deed of Revocation by the Earl of Carlisle of all officers.

19. Lord Willoughby's Letters Patent as Lieutenant-General of the Caribbee Islands.

29. Grant by Lord Willoughby to the Earl of Carlisle of a quarter of his moiety of the profits.

35. Ordinance for the discharge from his delinquency of the Earl of Carlisle, 13th Feb., 1644/5.

36. Letter to Capt. Charles Wolverston, Feb., 1628/9.

38. Letter to Capt. Charles Wolverston, May, 1629.

40. Power of the Courts of the Bishopric of Durham.

42. The late Earl of Carlisle's First Grant of the Caribbee Islands.

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